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ABSTRACT

A series of discussions on the present and possible future of education in Sweden is presented. The major themes covered are: the boredom of school; school and the life-cycle; the problem of examinations; a comparison of schooling and eating; a pupil centered school; experimental schools in Sicily and Oslo; the university; distinctions among the terms "learning," "education," and "schooling"; and peace education. An interview focusing on future consciousness and the school which was conducted for the Preparedness for the Future Project of the Malmo School of Education is also included. (RM)

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SCHOOLING, EDUCATION
AND THE FUTURE

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Johan Galtung

(including an interview by the Project
"Preparedness for the Future", Malmö)

What can we do to make our schools better? How can we make them more human? These questions are the starting-points for a series of discussions by Prof. Johan Galtung on the present and possible future situation of education. The major themes covered are indicated by the following selected chapter headings: School and our life-cycle. - The problem of examinations. - The pupil-centered school. - The Dolci educational center in Sicily. - The experimental high school in Oslo. - And what about the university? - Learning, education and schooling. - Peace education.

An interview with Johan Galtung, focusing on "Future consciousness and the school", is also included. The interview was carried out in 1981 by Gunnell Ankarstrand-Lindström for the Project "Preparedness for the Future" (Malmö School of Education).

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1. School was so boring . . .

Not so long ago you who are reading this, and I, went to school, to elementary school, to junior and senior high school maybe. I am trying to think back in time, to remember, to feel what it was like. And I invite you, dear reader, to do the same. Of course, we shall not come to the same results. All schools differ and people differ - but maybe there are nevertheless some similarities? Let me start - and you will find out for yourself whether you remember anything similar or not.

I have two distinct feelings that stand out in a bewildering multitude of feelings, memories, experiences: boredom, and a certain anxiety. I feel strongly that I was bored and scared most of the time.

I was bored because most of the time at school - in fact, almost all of the time - was spent sitting on a chair with a desk in front of me, with some paper and pencils. I was listening to an endless stream of words from the teacher. Sometimes I disappeared into myself, made drawings on the paper, became like a little animal inside a shell - living in his own world. The teacher saw it - and his sharp voice drilled through my shell and penetrated me, waking me up to the grey reality of the school room.

Outside there was weak, Norwegian sunshine, some traffic noise, some people shouting - life. Inside me there was only one thought: five hours left, four hours, three, two, one: free!

I was scared because the teacher was not the only one who talked. Sometimes we were called upon to answer questions. He had a big book with all the names - his

finger was sliding down the list - now he has passed G for Galtung, I thought, relieved - and then his finger moved up again! - "Yes, let us hear what Johan has to say today ---". He tried to sound sweet and yet we all knew what he was doing. He was collecting impressions, like a scientist collecting data. One little point of information here and there to fill in the picture of the pupil. The teacher was listening carefully. But it was a strange kind of conversation. Maybe he asked me about Napoleon, and maybe I answered something about Napoleon. But the whole talk was not about Napoleon, or France, or imperialism, or empires, or history. And it was not about me either. It was just about one little thing: whether I knew or did not know - whether I had prepared myself or not.

So I was either bored or scared. In fact, I have very few pleasant memories from school, except of three kinds.

The first has already been mentioned and was the every day pleasure, completely free of charge: the last time the bell rang, the final end of the last hour. For all of us our faces became lively again, our eyes were shining, we were children and behaved like children, noisy nonsense - slamming the drawers and the desks, starting on the way home. On that way we fought a little, played and talked very much. About school, about teachers. About life and God and the meaning of life and God, and the possible meaning of school, if any. Even about Napoleon - but in a very different way. For instance, we did not say "Napoleon was born in 1769 and died in 1821", but for instance, "I wonder whether he was naughty at school".

The second pleasure was to be naughty at school. It could be trivial, like blocking the door before the teacher came. It could be more refined like stealing the big book with the list of names, hiding it somewhere. It does not matter; the important thing is that when we did such things we were extremely alive. We were perhaps a little scared, but certainly not bored.

The third pleasure was when something unexpected hap-

pened. The teacher was ill, somebody else came; we gave him or her the benefit of doubt, at least the first five minutes. A teacher suddenly said: "let us go out, have class in the school yard!" Or another had forgotten the book and had to improvise his teaching, or he said "let us talk about something that is not in the book!"

These were our pleasures - except for the first one few and far between. That does not mean a grey childhood; not at all. The moment we were outside school we even bought papers and magazines and started reading and discussing them and they had life and meaning. But back to school again next morning and it was all covered with grey dust. We read about Columbus in books for boys and were excited - next day in the history and geography lesson it became dull, meaningless, grey.

Twelve years passed. We studied hard, or, at least we read very hard. But, the strange thing: I am now a professor, presumably a person with some knowledge - but I remember almost nothing of what I studied so hard at school! All these kings and years in history - they all disappeared, more or less. The geography I had to learn again from the beginning when I started travelling myself. The day of our final examination I could solve any possible and impossible kind of second degree equation, I was perfectly drilled, like a circus horse. Today I remember almost nothing of it - nor do I care. Some language study was useful - but probably because I had much opportunity to practice it later. But the rest - it is amazing how little remains.

Was I a particularly bad pupil in a particularly bad school? Not at all. And it all changed the moment I went to a university and could develop my own plan of study, grow according to my own inclinations, listening to the voices of my fellow students and to voices inside myself rather than - or in addition to - the teacher. There could be a day or two of nervousness in connection with an examination - but never more an almost constant feeling of being bored and scared.

Let me try to look at such experiences as the social scientist I later became. What is school about? I do not accept the simple answer that it is a place where one learns to read and write and a couple of other things. It is less than that, and it is much more.

For instance, school is a place where small children learn that it is normal to be bored and scared. It serves as a preparation for life in a society where very many jobs are boring, and very many people spend much of their time worrying about money, prestige, personal matters - very often scared.

Further, school is a place where small children learn that it is normal to engage in double-talk, pretending interest in content, substance - when the real focus is on whether you know, not on what you know. School is a place where small children learn to become objects of somebody's study and curiosity - not real subjects with opinions and ideas.

Further, school is a place where small children learn that what they have of talent inside their little brains is a weapon which they can use - not to help others, but to win over them, in competition. It is a place where one learns competition rather than cooperation. Never is this so clear as during examinations. Everybody has been through it: the big room with all the desks, a sheet of paper with the problems to be solved, each little child like a fortress, fenced in with himself - struggling hard to solve the problem. And yet the problem is actually a non-problem, nobody cares about the solution at all: the whole idea is to find out something about that little child. And should he or she pity the neighbor whose eyes beg for a little sheet of paper with some ideas, discreetly handed over when the teacher does not see - then this is cheating, forbidden, outlawed. Thus, school becomes the place where children learn to be egocentric and not to show solidarity with the weaker - except in team competitions with other schools.

Finally, school is the place where children are sorted and graded, like apples and oranges - Grade A, Grade B, Fail. It is a big sorting machine, the biggest in the world, receiving each year a new generation of children, the six year olds, to put some knowledge and skills into them, but also to sort them. Again the duplicity appears: the teacher smiles and wishes them welcome, all the small boys and girls, and places them on an assembly line for regular inspection and grading. Children are to be placed on a scale of ability, classified and rated. They have to be ordered vertically - for school is also a place where they are trained to enter a vertical society. In a society with much difference between top and bottom there has to be some way of deciding who shall get to the top and who to the bottom. In the old days it was so easy: it was decided by birth - the son of a samurai was a samurai, and so on, by and large. Today it is more complicated - and this is where schools enter. To put it bluntly: the teacher is only partly a pedagogue. As much, or even more, he is a sorting specialist, paid by society in order to find out who should be high and who should be low.

Back to the point of departure: what do we remember from school? My own memories were three: that I was bored, that I was scared - and that I do not remember much of what I "learnt". In the light of what has just been said this is rather obvious. Of course it is boring when so much of what happens in school is not what it pretends to be - when everything has some kind of double purpose. When children are playing not because they like to play but in order for the teacher to observe something - then it is no longer play. And of course it was scaring: so much of the time was spent one way or the other measuring and evaluating the pupils. And equally of course: one did not learn much for learning was not the real purpose (except in some basic fields). The real purpose was to test the pupil.

One may object that these are harsh words, and in a sense this is true. But I think they contain sufficient truth to be taken as a point of departure, not for further

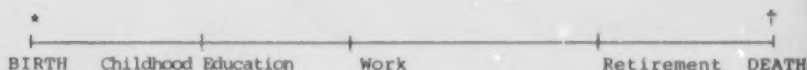
criticism, but for some thinking on the most basic problem: what can we do to make our schools better? How can we make them more human, less like factories - so that our children will wake up every morning and say with genuine joy: "oh, how happy I am - there is school today - let me run to be a little ahead of time!"

In several variations this will be the theme of these articles. But the background will always be a sense of dissatisfaction with the present system as we know it in most parts of the world. And the question will also have to be raised of to what extent the school can be changed without also changing society. Needless to say, that is a complex question which will not be a major topic - but important enough to be the major theme of the next article.

2. School and our life-cycle

School is a part of society, and any change of the schooling system is a change of society. The question is: will the society permit it? To discuss this I would like to bring to your attention one particular side of our education system, almost forgotten in debates: the fact that schooling is a long, uninterrupted sequence of years in the early stage of the life of all of us. How long varies from country to country: most countries today have five or more as a minimum, in some countries ten years are compulsory. But regardless of whether it is long or short it always comes in the early phase of life.

The idea is simple. Human life is divided, by our societies, in four phases or stages, Childhood, Education, Work and Retirement - something like the line below:



Life starts inside the family, childhood unfolds itself there. Then society takes over and puts the child in the education machine, for learning, for sorting into grades and categories, and simply to take care of them so that the parents (or at least one of them) is free to work. After that the person (he or she is now grown up) is supposed to hand something back to society in the form of work - and to go on as long as possible. How long is possible? Till physical weakness sets in, is one answer. But usually retirement in a "modern" society comes much earlier and is even forced upon the person. There is pressure to get new persons into the jobs, presumably with more modern ideas, or at least with a high desire to be promoted.

Hence, education falls between childhood and work. But is that really a good idea? Here are some arguments against:

- (1) The young person, the child, the teenager is kept continuously in school far too long. Fatigue sets in. I can remember myself how after six years of schooling I felt I saw the end: six years had passed. Six more years out of a total of twelve were left, we were half way. My friends and I celebrated the event ---
- (2) The young person gets no idea about work before he and she are quite advanced in life already. Suddenly, in many cases only when they are 18, even 21 or more years old, do they start working. But this means that they have had no chance to practice what they learn so that most of what they hear in school becomes only book learning. It also means that they are unprepared for the work situation, and consequently are likely to have difficulties in the beginning - and to become unnecessarily apathetic, easily manipulable, dependent persons.
- (3) What they learn they learn early in life. Of course, they can catch up on the job. But there is a tendency to feel that one is through with education when one is through with school, and to take education less seriously later on. Or, more correctly: education later on is seen only as a part of job training, not as general education, for enjoying life and society and culture more, or for going further in one's own self-realization.
- (4) Much of what the young person learns at school is forgotten immediately, not only because it remains too theoretical and detached from any practice, but also because there is too much material and it is too difficult. The pupils are not mature enough, and more importantly: the only motivation to learn is the fake motivation of the examination.

These are serious objections, and they will have to be taken into consideration by any future society. For the problems become more and more serious the longer the schooling lasts, and the schooling period tends to become longer and longer as societies become more and more complex.

So let us change the scheme in the figure a little. Let us imagine that the society simply says the following: "Here, young person, is a book, given to you on the day of your birth. It gives you the right to have X (5, 10, 12 16 etc.) years of schooling free, at the schools found in our society. But you can take them exactly when you want - that is up to you to decide, according to your own wishes as you go ahead in life."

Most children would definitely put in some years of education first. But after that some of them might like to have a taste of work. Here one should remember that in China today work is built into the school even at an early stage of life: each year there is a two months vacation, and two months of work in a factory or in a People's Commune. But I would imagine that the task of society is to make this possible, not necessarily to say exactly when the child would work and when it should have education.

The question immediately arises: but is there work that can be done by children? Yes, there still is. Much factory work is simple, elementary and can be carried out if not by very young children at least by teenagers. But not as exploitation, not in order to get cheap labor, but in order to give children a chance to understand work, and to give to the workers a chance of being teachers, of sharing in the general process of education, not giving it all to teachers (and parents). But it is very clear that the more complicated the work processes are, and the more automated the factory, the more difficult it will be to integrate children into the work. And that raises an important question: is it really "advanced" in a society to organize production so that there is no chance for others than specialists to produce? Does this not mean that children have to be kept in school - simply to be kept away, and is that not just one more way of fragmenting, keeping everybody apart and making us understand as little as possible of the society in which we live?

I think we can take the risk of having a little less efficiency and more human relations in factories and farms and offices, letting the young person understand early what work is like and what he would like to require of school in order to be better prepared for it. For we assume that after some time at work - some months, maybe even a year or two, at the age of 12 or 13 for instance, students will go back to school again. But now they will be more mature. They will ask questions from real life. They will want to

know the link between what they read in the books and the social reality they know. And the teacher will have to be able to answer such questions. And that has one simple consequence: he also has to know other areas of society than his own school building. Hence, a condition for this is that the teacher is also given this chance, that he or she can also take a year off and work somewhere else - maybe even at the places where some of the children are working. I do not think this will make them poorer teachers, on the contrary - they will be much more mature and rich as persons, they will have more to talk about and discuss.

And thus life passes on, and our young person finds the composition of work and education suitable for him or her. And then, later on - maybe at the age of 25, 30, 35 - the time has come to take the next stages. And now comes the basic point: somebody at the age of 35 who only used ten years out of sixteen still has six to go. But when he or she goes back to school there will be an interesting age mixture in the class. Some will be children who have gone the old way, continuously, some will be older, some will be quite old. The teachers will not necessarily be among the oldest in the class. On the contrary, the class will be more like a college of people at the same level, sharing experiences, engaging in a horizontal dialogue, not in a vertical, authoritarian, teacher-to-pupil effort to cram the pupils with maximum authorized knowledge. Is this not more like the school we would like to see?

So, in short: let us start requesting of school authorities that it should be easier to interrupt school, and to resume it again at any age one wants. Let us create schools that do not discriminate against people on the basis of age. And, equally importantly, let us make our work places more open for younger people who want to share the experiences of the adults. In one sentence: let us try to break down some of the watertight boundaries found today between school and the rest of society.

3. The problem of examinations

For most people, old and young, school is somehow connected with examinations. It is as if this were a part of the school itself, like buildings, teachers and pupils, and even a major part. Pupils think of it, teachers think of it much of the time - perhaps not so much in elementary school as in high school. And when the days of examinations of real significance are approaching - in Japan that would be entrance examinations to universities and for jobs rather than exit examinations from schools - then the whole life patterns of not only the students but their families as well are likely to be affected. The student becomes like a patient: nervous, concentrated, focussing on his own situation, egocentric and highly concerned with his own survival. And the family starts treating him and her a little bit like a patient is treated: "do not make any noise, he is preparing himself", "be kind to her, she has an examination next week". It is not only in Japan that mothers sacrifice themselves more than usually, nursing their sons and daughters through these difficult periods with extraordinary care and tact and helpfulness - serving food and things to drink at odd hours to help in the process.

So - let us ask the brutal question: is it worth it? Exactly what is the significance of all these examinations, are they really as important as many people sometimes seem to believe? And if not, what could we have instead of examinations? Let us have a little look at the issues here.

There are two important arguments in favor of examinations:

- (1) they are needed in the school in order to make students concentrate, to pull themselves together in a concentrated effort where they really learn. The teacher also needs them in order to motivate the students to read and work with things they have to know even if it is not interesting or entertaining.
- (2) they are needed in the society in order to know who is best suited for a job. Of course, examinations do not tell the whole story about a person, but they tell important parts of that story, and the society has a right to know.

These two arguments look so self-evident, so absolutely true to many. And yet, they can easily be shown to be rather insufficient, from many points of view.

Thus, is it really true that pupils learn so much when they prepare themselves for examinations? Probably not. On the contrary, it rather looks as if they learn examination techniques, they learn how to accumulate in a short time a lot of knowledge so that they can handle the examination situation. But that is a very special situation, at least when it takes place the way it often does: without the possibility of asking others for advice, and so on. Think of that for a moment: how often in your life after school have you been in a situation similar to examinations? Have you really had to answer questions in history and geography without being permitted to look in some books or ask somebody? In general, I think it can be said that examinations look like nothing else, only like themselves - and that such situations do not reappear later in life. Of course, one has to be able to read and write and do some simple arithmetic on the spur of the moment - but usually not the kinds of tasks one is asked to perform when examinations come. So have a little look at your son's and daughter's examinations problems and again ask yourself - have I really had to face such problems in life?

So, one problem with examinations is that they tend to distort the learning activity by creating examination specialists rather than real knowledge. If examinations were of a different type - like the so-called "take-home" examination where the students get problems and come back in a day, in a week with answers - after having consulted

what they want, this objection would disappear. But then there is another problem with examinations: is it really true that knowledge acquired that way, with an examination in mind, "sticks", or is it easily forgotten?

Again, look at yourself: how much do you remember of what you learnt for examinations, but had no chance of really using later? As a matter of fact, much experience seems to indicate that it is even more quickly forgotten than learnt - that "the curve of delearning is steeper than the curve of learning", to put it technically. And that is a rather serious thing, for that would indicate that it is even wasteful to acquire knowledge this way. As a matter of fact, it may even indicate that the best way of really learning something theoretical is by applying it, by having a chance to use it - and in real life situations, not in artificial situations like a big room with everybody sitting at isolated tables, far away from each other, working hard with examination problems that do not really interest them.

But then, what about the other argument, the idea that society somehow needs examinations in order to rank pupils according to how clever they are? This is a deeper argument, and strikes at our fundamental philosophy of life, of what it is to be human, of society. Hence, it is profoundly connected with politics, even though most political parties all over the world seem to neglect this issue. So let us have a look at it.

First, it should be noted that there still are people who believe very strongly in something called "intelligence coefficient". That people have more or less ability to handle abstract matters, and that this may be referred to as "intelligence" seems clear. But what is not at all clear is that the level of intelligence is something that somehow is a constant property of a person, like his or her height. It is well known that people grow to a certain point, usually attained relatively early in life - even as a teenager - and after that they do not become any taller, but in mid-life start becoming a little shorter

again. And one has often thought of intelligence the same way: there is a certain potential in each person, this potential is reached relatively early in life, and if we know the level at that age we know the maximum capacity for that person for the rest of his or her life. As a matter of fact, the age of about 16 has often been seen as the point of maximum growth: after that the person becomes neither taller, nor more intelligent - and this is one reason why some people think it is so terribly important to have basic examinations right after that age has been reached.

What is overlooked here is the extent to which abilities can develop through challenge, by having interesting jobs, jobs that make it possible not only to apply what one knows, but to develop it further. It is like the queen bee among bees: it is like an ordinary bee but is treated in an extraordinary way and becomes extra ordinary. As a matter of fact, I think everyone knows from personal experience what challenge means, what opportunity to create something means. And here the basic point is simply this: in our societies very few are given that chance. Most interesting, challenging jobs that really require creativity are in the hands of very few people, and most people carry out routine jobs with little or no change or stimulus, very much the same from one day to the other. One example of such jobs is the job of a housewife, and it is not strange that research shows that housewives do not undergo increases, growth in intelligence after they have become adults to the same extent as men who have challenging jobs (or women in such jobs).

So, what then is the point? It is very simple - society needs, if anything, a pretext to put some people in interesting jobs and the rest in boring jobs, and the examinations and their results give society that pretext. The "best" according to these competitions are given the interesting jobs, the others are put "where they belong". The result of the examination becomes like a sentence,

something that shall last throughout the lifetime of the person. In the old days, before examinations became so important this was done by birth: the son of a nobleman became a nobleman and so on. Society was vertical, there was a top and a bottom, and the next generation fitted into the positions of their parents. Today society is also vertical, but the new generation is not necessarily put in the same boxes as their parents. They can also be put somewhere else, depending on whether they do well or badly when examination time comes. Hence it is not strange that parents who care for their children also care for their exams: they are crucial. But in so doing they are maintaining a very vertical society, where the noblemen of the past correspond to the doctors (PhDs) of the present, the samurais of the past correspond to the university graduates at present, and so on.

Then there is one more point: examinations are not only used to arrange the students vertically, but also to detach them from each other. The results are individualized, it is his mark, her grade. But learning is not individual, nor is action - nobody can really learn who grows up isolated from others. In other words, examinations atomize us, detach us from each other and create an artificial individualism. This is seen particularly clearly in the problem of "cheating": cheating is, for instance, what happens when one student helps another. In other words, helpfulness, solidarity, acting together, cooperation are stamped out as crimes! That alone shows that there must be something wrong with the system, for these are extremely important human virtues.

In short: the present ideology and examination system is highly competitive, and is based on the idea that everybody will regard what he and she has of talent as a weapon that can be used to win over others. In seeing it this way schools prepare students for life in a competitive society - that is true. But the big question is whether we really want a society that is so competitive,

whether we really want to be pressed and forced that much, and particularly whether we want to be ranked as high or low so much and so early in life. But if we do not want all that, we need some kind of vision of an alternative system - and that is the topic of the next article.

4. The problem of examinations: An alternative

What is the alternative to the present highly competitive, individualistic system of examinations that plays such an important role in our schools, in our entire education system? It is easy enough to criticize, but what are we going to put in its place?

A very interesting discussion of this was found in the column "Tensei Jingo" (Asahi Shimbun, January 1974) - "Is Cheating Permissible?" The reference is to junior high school student Hsin in Canton, China who was caught cheating during a midterm examination last fall, and given a failing mark. But Hsin did not give up that easily: he sent a letter to Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) and asked "If I ask someone else for the answer and understand, isn't that a positive gain?". In other words, "what's wrong with cheating?" In asking this Hsin is part of an ongoing, deep and important discussion about the entire examination problem that has been going on for years in China - a country rightly famous, as the columnist points out, for "a history of cruelly severe examinations". The chairman, Mao Tse-tung, himself participated in the debate and described examinations as a way of fighting against students, as if they were enemies. The present author also had occasion during a visit to China to discuss some of the ideas they have developed - and some of that is reflected below.

Hsin has, obviously, one extremely good point: there is something sick in a society which defines helping others somehow as a crime. To help each other, to learn together should be a virtue, not a vice - especially since we have to stand together in real life situations.

But Hsin is also wrong: to have a quick look at somebody else's solution during an examination in order to copy it is hardly a good way of learning. From that, however, it does not follow that Hsin should be punished in any way. It is the system that puts him in this situation, with surprise exams (like a surprise attack, Mao would have said) in order to test memory more than ability to reason, that creates this type of situation. And at this point I feel that the Asahi Shimbun columnist puts the wrong question: how can we determine "the extent of understanding of each individual" (if we should permit cheating)? Of course we cannot - but then, is it so important to put a mark on each individual - especially when we know that he or she will change and develop if given the chance, and will work with others in groups and teams, rather than alone?

So, let us be bold and suggest as guidelines for a debate about the alternative to the present system the following six principles:

(1) As most educators would agree there is an important distinction between examinations as a pedagogical instrument, as one of many pedagogical means, and examination as a classification instrument, as a way of sorting pupils and students according to grades. One may be highly sceptical about the latter without rejecting the former, so let us make use of this distinction.

(2) I would not suggest abolishing final examinations of all kinds. There should be some kind of diploma or "certificate of attendance" available to those who have been through any kind of education, be that junior high school or a university course. And there should be some kind of effort on the side of the participant, the pupil - he should not merely sit there passively and receive. The student should create something and this should be the basis for receiving some kind of certificate of attendance.

(3) As an example: take junior high school. In the last term, early, the teacher may say something like this: "During this term you will do a project. It may be a

report about the weather in our town (go to the meteorological institute!); it may be any thing. You will write about it, make drawings and diagrams, you may analyze it, you may even like to say something critical about what you find, maybe there is something you think should be different. At any rate, you will make a report, and you will present it in class. We shall have one presentation every day during the month of -, so pick your day now (but once you have picked it, you have to stick to it!). When you present it, not only I but also the other students will ask you questions about it - and you will try to answer. We shall all give you ideas about how to improve your report. You will then revise it, and hand it in two weeks later. All this, except the presentation in class, you can do alone or together with some of your friends, in a group. And you will not get a grade, only 'pass' or 'fail'. However, in this whole period I and the other teachers are here to help you. If you work you will not fail - only those who do not work, or who do not learn from criticism, will fail, and I am sure they are very few or none at all".

(4) In other words, these would be the basic ideas:

- only pass and fail, no grading; and with the understanding that "fail" is given only to very few who have not shown up, not done the work, etc.
- the students can to a large extent pick their projects themselves, but in consultation with the teachers.
- they can work on them through a long period, alone or in groups, and with access to all possible books, advice from others, etc.
- however, at one point they have to be responsible alone: in discussion of their presentation. If somebody else has been "paid" to do the project for them they will not be able to talk about it at all - in that case they may fail.
- they will be criticised in a helping, constructive way, not only by the teachers, but by other pupils. This gives a chance of mutual aid, of being interested in what others have done, not only in one's own project: "if I help you today, you may help me tomorrow".

- there is a chance of improving what one has done, a second chance so to speak - not what is usual in exams: you write your answers or your essay, and get no chance of improving it, of developing it further.
- the teacher can see to it that the pupil applies a wide range of what he has learnt in school by asking him to add this and that aspect to his project. "Could you also find out how much precipitation there is on the average, per month" would be a test of simple arithmetic ability, for instance.
- the project would be a chance not only to test but to develop knowledge, and not knowledge of isolated details but in a broader context, and not only detached theory, but in a setting of empirical reality.
- finally, the net result, the completed projects, might even be of some use - the students could even do some small jobs in that connection ("find out something about the history of that enterprise/that library, write it up"), or at least produce something that the next generation of students might have a look at, possibly be inspired by, and develop further.

(5) In addition to this there is the use of examinations as pedagogical instruments. A quick test of mathematics, a dictation in a foreign language do not do any harm. They are ways of checking students as well as teachers. The teacher should correct them and pay great attention to errors that tend to be common - they are indications of flaws in his teaching. The pupils should take note, should have a book where they record their own errors to obtain greater awareness about them. But these tests should not be graded, and teachers should refrain from keeping secret records about students. Above all, teachers should not even be permitted to give a statement about their former students to employers and others: the students should have a fresh start after school, they should all be given equal opportunity regardless of their ups and downs in junior and senior high school.

(6) But what about jobs afterwards, how does one select among applicants? With all the shortcomings of entrance examinations I would say: they are better than exit examinations that tend to destroy and pervert the entire schooling system. Each institution - university, factory, ministry -

has its own requirements, they are all very different, they all ask for different talents and interests. To believe that an exit examination certificate can serve all these different interests and give a general guide to the ability of the individual applicant is naive indeed - yet we do it in Europe where the Norwegian "artium" or German "Abitur" or French "baccalaureat" play an enormous role - this is the senior high school exit examination. It is also naive, however, to believe too much in the results of one examination in the month of March - as one does in Japan. Interviews and some practical tests, more related to the content of the job, would probably be much more appropriate.

I think this kind of alternative would solve Hsin's problem. Cheating in school would be meaningless, students would work together rather than against each other in competition. But there is another problem, the problem of the teachers. Will they be able to teach if they can no longer make use of the threat of the final examination, always having that as a weapon in the background? How can teachers motivate pupils to learn when there is no threat, no punishment in the system? Some ideas about this will be the subject of our next article.

5. Schooling and eating: A comparison

In the preceeding two articles the focus has been on examinations, examinations as pedagogical instruments and examinations for classification of pupils. I feel that tests are highly useful as a pedagogical instrument, as a way of stimulating learning. Besides, who will deny that tests can also be fun, like a game? I also tried to show that there are many ways in which tests can be organized so that they become much more meaningful, and really serve deeper understanding rather than becoming a goal in themselves. Most important in that connection is to avoid knowledge tests of the true-false type that do not ask for any type of reasoning, only for how much encyclopedic knowledge is stored in the pupil. Such tests serve the purpose of preparing the pupils to be obedient, to know the right answers rather than to be able to ask the important questions. Above all, they give the pupils the idea that there are answers to all questions, that the world is basically a world of facts rather than a world of judgment.

So let us assume that we want the school to be a place where people mature and become capable both of answering and asking questions. Further, let us imagine that we want them to leave school as equal as they were when they entered, with no grade-tag around their necks. And then the basic question: will they still want to learn when there is no longer the threat of an examination to spur them on?

I think the answer is yes, but it is obvious that one cannot simply remove exams and change nothing else. There have to be other sources of motivation than simply to get

good grades and beat others in competition - or the more modest goal of simple survival, at least not flunking the examination. But before I go into any detail about this, let me compare, in this article, education with another basic need, food; and schooling with eating.

Why, to ask a question, is there no Ministry of Eating when there are, in all countries, Ministries of Education? Of course, there are ministries whose task it is to see to it that there is sufficient food in the country, but they do not set up detailed schedules of eating - except in the armed forces, in monasteries, and - characteristically enough - in boarding schools (and some other places).

For one could easily imagine a Ministry of Eating set up along the same lines as a Ministry of Education. It would probably standardize meals, with simple, elementary meals for those aged 7-14, more advanced meals for the next level and really advanced eating for those above 18. Yes, one could even go a step further and ask people to make choices, to "go in" for fish dishes or meat dishes, even specialize further according to their taste. If they did so it would be in perfect harmony with what we do in the field of education. For in that field we somehow assume that people have an inclination, a certain interest, a vocation - that they make up their choice, after having sampled many fields of study. So why not structure eating in such a way that people have to stick to the same food the rest of their life, after they have made their choice, when they have to stick to the same profession the rest of their life after they made their choice among all fields of study? Why are we more permissive in the field of eating than in the field of schooling?

Answer: because food is a more fundamental need than education. We assume that people will somehow try to get food one way or another as long as it is available and they can afford it; we do not trust they will show the same eagerness when it comes to study and work. For that reason we force people to study by making elementary schooling

compulsory, and to work by making work a condition for pay. To supervise that people really study and really work we regulate both activities in detail whereas eating is pretty much left to one's own initiative.

But instead of making a caricature out of eating by imagining that it is more similar to education, let us turn the argument the other way round and ask: what if education were organized more like the way we organize eating? In other words, what if we simply trusted people and in addition made schools and other forms of education so attractive that people would come by themselves? Let us dream a little bit about this, for if we do not have visions we shall never make any significant steps forward.

In the utopia of my dreams education is organized in many ways like eating is organized today. Some major similarities:

- much eating is done at home, and together with others. Architects make houses and apartments with kitchens but not with study-rooms as standard equipment, with good shelves and tables. It is the same with hotels: excellent for sleep, love, make-up and meals; very bad for study (tables are too small, designed for ladies' cosmetics; there are no shelves). The assumption is that there are schools and universities and libraries for such purposes.
- there is a great variety of cafeterias, restaurants at all levels offering a wide spectrum of dishes. Variety rather than standardization seems to be the rule, each shop having some pride in having a speciality. But whereas one decides oneself what to make at home, eating out means that basic choices have already been made by others.
- there is nobody forcing one to stick to one kind of food, nor is one forced to eat at home or out, one may change from one pattern to the other.

In short: variety and free choice, and a combination of self-organized eating (at home) and other-organized eating (in restaurants etc.) are very positive characteristics of our pattern of eating. Another is more subtle: there is no assumption that you start your life with very simple dishes and then go on to more and more advanced ones. The highly sophisticated and the highly elementary may alternate and there is no shame in returning to the most elementary dishes.

But then there is a highly negative aspect of eating: it costs, at times very much so. It costs precisely because it is assumed that people will spend money on it anyhow, whereas education has to be priced very low, even offered free, in order to get people into it. Here it may certainly be argued that it would be wise policy to subsidize eating much more not only so that everybody is guaranteed a minimum, but in order for everybody to take part in the enjoyment of good food.

So, how would education organized more like eating look? The government would see to it that plenty of educational material - books, audio-visual material - are made very cheaply available, even free, and with a great variety. Then, in each bloc, spread all over town and countryside, there would be study cafeterias and study restaurants, the former more standardized, the latter more based on improvisation. They would look much more like their eating relatives, much less like the enormous factories we know as schools. Students and pupils would come in groups, freely organized, they would find a table - maybe what Germans call a Stammtisch, a more permanent table. The waiters would come to them. They would be teachers but of a new kind: more trained in facilitating search for information and dialogue. They would stimulate discussion and when educational material is needed they would disappear into the "kitchen" and hopefully return with the order. Needless to say, they would also have a menu indicating what they have to offer - and they might specialize in fields of study: mathematics, social studies, languages.

Obviously, these study cafeterias and restaurants would have to be very much subsidized by the government, but they would not have to be absolutely free. I tend to share the view that things that are completely free are taken for granted, even appreciated much less than they should be, and I would rather see food more, and education less, subsidized. In other words, it could be more organized like adult education in the Nordic countries: there are government subsidies available once people want to form a study

group, but they also have to pay something themselves. The new element in this "utopia" would be to make the pattern much more general, much more freely available - somewhat like the academies in ancient Greece where people were invited in to discuss with what we today would call "the staff".

One important point in connection with these freely organized study groups: there would no longer be any assumption that the members have to be of, roughly speaking, the same age. On the contrary, a mixture of age groups should be encouraged to permit people of several walks of life to mix and bring different experiences into the educative setting. The fundamental thing is that it should be easy to improvise: one simply drops in, singly or in a group, without any prior notice, as one would do for most eating places. Of course there might be more or less crowded places because of demand and supply and that would give occasion to change the speciality of some of the places to obtain better balance. What should be avoided, however, is that some places have only advanced fields of study, cost more and are more elegantly and cosily equipped. On the contrary, I think there might be virtue in having a mathematics cafeteria where children train themselves in multiplication in one corner (together with some adults who need a little refresher), in another corner differential equations are discussed, in a third there is a debate about the social meaning of mathematics.

Is it obvious that people would learn less, given variety and choice, provided the places draw on the same sort of motivation that makes millions all over the world flock to study groups, driven by internal curiosity rather than by promises of rewards or threats of punishment? I do not think so, because I am convinced that education takes place extremely quickly provided motivation is strong and the setting is stimulating; if the motivation is absent and the setting is boring one is probably de-learning rather than learning.

But this was only a vision to stimulate thinking. Next we shall be closer to the present reality with some ideas as to what could make our schools more attractive to the pupils of tomorrow.

6. The pupil centered school

There is one very simple answer to the basic question of how to make schools more attractive, less based on the hidden or open threat of exit or entrance examinations, more based on simple desire to learn, to develop. The answer is this: let the pupils do more as they like, give them more freedom. Trust pupils more, treat them more like grown-ups and they will by and large behave more like grown-ups, in some very significant ways.

Let us spell this out in some detail. To do that we can draw on a very well known model: the college student. He or she is in most countries something like 18-22 years old, in the interface between Child and Adult, not yet a bread-winner, a salary earner; still a consumer (of knowledge) more than a producer of anything, yet looking like an adult and being treated like one in many countries. So, what can we learn from the way in which a college student relates to education? - perhaps drawing particularly on the US college system?

First, the considerable freedom of choice when it comes to composing a curriculum. The formula is simple: many small units, the choice of a major field of study - and then the student writes his own time table. The former Minister of Education in Rumania, and a brilliant futurologist, Professor Mircea Malitza, has made an effort to organize all such teaching/learning units along two axes: a horizontal one according to the subject itself (English, mathematics, social studies, history, carpentry, health and hygiene, welding) and a vertical one according to whether it is elementary level, intermediate or advanced. Imagine now that there are twelve fields of study and five

levels, altogether sixty units. One important point is that as pupils mature they will not necessarily have to start all fields with the elementary units - after a little self study they might go ahead with higher levels.

But the important thing is that the individual comes to his or her curriculum, it is not the curriculum that comes to them in a process of automatic feeding, with no individual choices being made. When something is my choice then I have a vested interest in making it a success. When it is decided far away, in the Ministry of Education in the capital for instance, then it is no longer my study but their study - I do not relate to it personally, and it becomes very easy to create a distance between me and the content, seeing it as something that does not concern me, and is covered by bureaucratic dust.

Of course, most would agree that the freedom of choice should not be unlimited. For instance, in order to achieve more equality between manual and mental work both kinds of subjects should be taught. One might also require that not less than one third of the units in, say, senior high school be "vocational" and not less than one third "academic". He who wants to be heading in the direction of carpentry should not be switched on a purely vocational sidetrack but remain in the mainflow of the school system, combining his training with knowledge of English and social studies and physics. She who wants to be come an architect should already in junior and senior high school not only have a chance, but to some extent be forced by the requirements, to have intimate knowledge of carpentry and welding. Similarly, it may be required that one should have reached the highest level in a certain number of fields, and have some knowledge in all fields, or at least most of them.

Second, there is freedom not only with regard to content, but also with regard to the time order of the units. This is a crucial test of the trust in young people: they should be permitted to decide their own time order. But will they not try to study units that are too difficult for them? Maybe, but so what? There will, of course, be the chance to transfer from one unit to another. The experience of

having aimed too high is a useful one, one that may instill some respect for the field of study - but then there should be something to fall back on, many easier units from which to choose and perhaps also some possibility of small, gentle pushes, some extra help from teachers so as to enable pupils to carry through their plan if it means very much to them. To facilitate this units should be relatively self-sufficient and not build too much on each other provided they are not in the same field of study - and even then pupils should not be too much forced by requirements ("course B4 presupposes A1, B3 and D1").

Third, and very important: a generally relaxed attitude to the time factor. Is it really important that senior high school, for instance, lasts three years? Could not the senior high school rather be a place where these units are offered, where the pupil signs up, and spends the time he wants to spend? He or she could with no harm be given more freedom where study rhythm is concerned, although a condition like "your studies must be completed within five/six years" is not unreasonable - or perhaps it is? Why are we so concerned that education should be finished, be over and done with - is that not because we have been accustomed to regard it as something of a necessary evil, like sex to the puritan, to be engaged in but not enjoyed?

And that also applies to the single day at school: is it really important that it takes place in a consecutive time span, from 8.30 am to 4 pm? Nobody is equally in a mood to study always. A mature, creative student never has a regular rhythm - only the study robot has - the mature one knows when he is less and when more capable of development and concentrates on the latter periods. So, the freedom of choice will also imply the freedom of choice to have no school at all - two days a week, two hours a day or however the pupil (who then actually should be called a student) might decide. Of course, that does not mean the time would be wasted. The school would have study rooms with plenty of chance to engage in self-study and discussion groups with other pupils - such discussion groups

would fill in many of the gaps in the schedule. But more than that: each school should, like schools in China, have good contacts with factories and other places of work and the pupils/students should get acquainted with real work, over an extended period. Needless to say, this presupposes a corresponding flexibility at many work places, willingness to take in youngsters, to teach them - to let all of society become more like a study seminar, and to let schools become more like the rest of society. Actually, such practice should be worked into the plan of education and become an obligatory part of the study. But great care should be taken to keep the system flexible: not "24 credit points of outside work", but a much looser requirement, and some evidence that the student has understood, perhaps even contributed something to the place of work.

Fourth, see to it that flexibility is kept where the units are concerned. More particularly, this means that there must be ample opportunity to add new units according to the tastes and abilities of the local teachers. For instance, why not bring parents more into the picture in the study groups? Why not make use of the local professionals? A course in photography, for instance: most school districts would have a photographer who could be used and be paid for it, constituting one more tie to real society, making the school less isolated from its environment. On the other hand, however: the schools should not have too much freedom to drop units, for that would favor schools in central districts with more resources. Rather, it is the task of governments to see to it that schools are equipped for all basic units - as they do today. There should be much similarity between them so that pupils can move from one to the other, but also enough dissimilarity to make this a new educational experience.

Fifth, and this may be the most difficult point of them all: more dialogue, horizontal learning: less vertical learning. I say "more" and "less"; only the fool would try to throw out completely traditional teaching. Discussion groups are not very meaningful when the subject is German

verbs or any other skill or problem for which there is only one answer. But they are highly meaningful when it comes to social studies, the meaning of historical events, why mathematics is developed this way rather than that. Why do pupils all over the world learn so much arithmetic and geometry? Because they are highly useful tools for a shopper who does not want to be cheated in the supermarket and the shop, or the farmer tilling new fields. Why does he learn so little about the big branch of mathematics that could teach him to understand social structure better? Because nobody deciding about the content of mathematics for young people has been interested in having young people understand social structure better. In the schools the young should not only get knowledge, but they should also learn something even more important: to question knowledge.

The teacher who can only put forward his own knowledge and opinions is not very well suited to do this. Much better is the teacher whose skill it is to facilitate dialogue with no preconceived conclusion, to make material available, to let the students work it out themselves. Actually, in all this the process of dialogue is probably more important for a young person's growth than the conclusion - often there will be no conclusion, only process, which can be very frustrating for a teacher of the older tradition.

So, our formula is very simple: let pupils in school have an educational experience more similar to that of students in relatively free universities. Give them that confidence at an earlier stage of life, and society will be amply rewarded with more mature citizens, perhaps less obedient, less manipulable, but more autonomous and creative.

And the formula for educational strategy is also simple: start with the school level closest to university, senior high school, and gain experience. Quite soon the same patterns can be practised at the junior high school level, and then in elementary school. For such ideas are

not only transmitted from the top, from a ministry, but also at the bottom, from the elder to the younger sibling and friend in the neighborhood. Which means that the young people themselves could constitute political pressure and even participate in the planning in the way it has been done in Danilo Dolci's experimental school in Sicily - which is the topic of the next article.

7. The Dolci Educational Center in Sicily

In Western Sicily, not far from the capital Palermo, lives one of Europe's most remarkable personalities - Danilo Dolci. He has often been referred to as Sicily's Gandhi, and like the real Gandhi he not only talks and writes about educational reform but is actively building an experimental school that deserves considerable attention. In order to understand this remarkable enterprise first some words about Western Sicily and the work of Dolci himself.

Sicily is a part of the underdeveloped south of Italy, meaning not only that it is poor, but also that it is highly dependent on the much more developed and autonomous Northern Italy (Milano and Torino) and Italy's political center, Roma. It is the old story: from South to North there is a flow of young labor and agricultural products, from North to South of manufactured goods (cars, for instance). In addition to this relationship of "internal colonization" (as the Latin Americans call it) there are also strong remnants of an almost feudal structure in Sicily, particularly in the Western part. The old nobility has little power today, but the church, the political bosses, and gangsters of various kinds of the famous mafia, exercise considerable power and are always in favor of the status quo, of a static society with impoverished, frightened peasants. After the war Western Sicily was a poverty zone with all the characteristics of very underdeveloped societies: very high infant mortality, illiteracy, even with children starving to death.

Dolci, born in Northern Italy in 1920 and trained as an architect, came to the small town of Partinico in 1952 and was so shocked by what he saw that he decided to devote

himself to the uplift of the poor in the region. He found quarters in the town where people had spent more time in prison than in schools - for such conditions, of course, breed criminality of various kinds. But the basic point about Dolci, and here his line of work is very similar to that of both Gandhi and Mao Tse-Tung, was not to ask for social welfare, but to try to initiate an organic development process based on the people themselves and their own resources. He organized a famous "inverse strike", leading the unemployed to start working, without pay, on a road project abandoned by the authorities; he started cooperatives; he got a very big dam built that now makes considerable areas of underutilized farmland highly fertile; he fought politically against the powerful mafia; he was himself sentenced and put in prison; and so on.

Above all, he organized countless discussions and seminars with the local, often illiterate population, participating side by side with internationally known experts, and awakened their faith in themselves and in democratic planning processes, from the bottom up, not from the ministries downwards. His Partinico Centro Studi e Iniziativa (Center for Studies and Initiatives) became internationally known, and those who, like the present author, have worked with him for years can hardly believe that these villages, bursting with activity today, are the same as the scenes of misery of yesterday.

Where does education come into this? From the very beginning it was clear to Dolci that education was not a problem of being literate, or of having spent many years in school, of schooling. Many of the people most in favor of the status quo were highly literate with many years of schooling. Rather, it was a question of making people believe in themselves and their own ability to discover, to discuss with others, to enter into a true dialogue rather than passively absorbing knowledge in order to pass an exam. In short, Dolci saw a very strong connection between traditional schooling and Sicily's underdevelopment. If you want people who are strong enough to make their own

development, not merely be the clients and satellites of development that takes place somewhere else (in this case in the North, in the US and in the centers of the European Community), then you also need a different type of school.

So, here is concretely what Dolci started doing.

He got some financial support for experimental schools from central school authorities, and he had some money from his numerous books that could be put into the venture. He obtained an excellent site for the school on a hillside outside Partinico, and the assistance of architects, educators of all kinds from inside and outside Italy for seminars and discussion groups.

But all that is very ordinary. What he then did surprised many: The children in the neighborhood were invited not only to participate in the discussions, but what they went in for very often became the final decision.

Examples:

- they did not want classrooms, but rooms for the various subjects taught, one room for music, one for mathematics, and so on.

- they did not want desks, but circular tables so that everybody could see everybody else and so that the teacher became more like one of the students.

- as much as possible they wanted as teachers people who were really "doing it", not only "teaching it". Rather than a teacher of photography they wanted a photographer; rather than a teacher of botany they wanted a florist, and so on. They also said that at least once they wanted to see a real mathematician and a real astronomer, not only hear about them.

- they wanted for foreign languages people who spoke that language as their mother tongue, and preferably only that so that they had to talk with them in that language.

- they wanted individual desks where they could do their class work in addition to the rooms where they could discuss all the material together. They wanted a certain privacy, but not one little room for each child, so the result was a set of desks along the wall with small walls separating them from each other, combining together-

ness with some privacy.

- they did not want a rigid class schedule set up in advance, but the possibility of adjusting the schedule according to the interests of all participants, pupils and teachers alike.

Teachers? In an article in the UNESCO magazine for problems of education, PROSPECTS (no. 2, 1973) Dolci always uses the term educator, and the headmaster is referred to as coordinator. The method is called maieutics (dialogue). The major task of the educator is to present material, data so to speak, initiate a discussion and then be a good discussion catalyst, able to make all participate, to stimulate an attitude of joint exploration with no foregone conclusions. In geometry, for instance, it would be much more pedagogical if the children themselves could develop some theorems, e.g. by looking at and comparing triangles, than simply learning "theorem", "proof", "theorem", "proof". According to Dolci very few such educators exist; what exists are teachers with memorized lessons they try to get the pupils to memorize, and usually with a very unquestioning attitude to the knowledge they try to convey.

So the school becomes an educational centre with presentation of material, formulation of hypotheses, exploration, possible verification, new formulation. Essentially, this is the scientific method as opposed to dogmatism and faith in authorities. But will that not lead to rediscovery of what is already known, at best, and at worst simply to chaos? Such dangers exist. But take an example from chemistry. The pupils may decide that they simply want to heat and even burn all compounds they can find - starting with sugar. They discover that often the result is black - they get at the common substance of carbon. Not very sensational, but it is their discovery - and they may explore whether it applies to all compounds and find that this is not the case. The process and act of discovery is more important than the result - but of course, it has its limitations. As Dolci points out it may lead to the

pitfall of activism, simply always doing something, without reflection. It is the interplay between activity and reflection which constitutes good pedagogy.

Another basic point in this school is the close participation of the local population. They participate as parents in all planning stages, and - of course - together with children and teachers in the decision-making bodies of the school. But they are also made use of as teachers - e.g. the photographer and the florist mentioned, and also the farmers, the construction workers, the engineers. And in the school there will also be discussions of the issues debated locally, the major problems confronting the community, encouraging the students to get material, investigate the matter, develop their own understanding. A maieutic school should lead to a more maieutic society - that is the basic idea. And for that purpose the parents of the children are invited to participate in the groups (the new word for "class") at least once a week, partly to break down the age segregation so typical of most schools, partly to involve the community in the discussions, partly for the parent and children to get to know each other outside the family.

Naturally, there will be no examinations of the traditional type at the end. In the countless discussions conducted by the children during the last few years (and reported by Dolci in his book Chissà se i pesci piangono - Who knows whether fish cry? - based on tape recordings of the discussions) the children were quite clear on this. Schools have to find other ways of making the material interesting than the threat of an examination. Instead of that there will be some kind of collective assessment or evaluation, made by educators and students together, and of both educators and students.

But in most of the things they want to do in this school even collective assessment would be misplaced. For how would you organize any kind of examination to find out how students are doing in a group discussing a subject like: "how many different types of silence can

there be?" This is the type of question to which there is no definite answer, and in the Dolci school there will be ample room for such questions. The ordinary school focuses too much on the well-known, on the empirical, and on conventional wisdom - Dolci also hopes for a school where students and educators will dream together and play together with no specific purpose at all except that of dreaming and playing and becoming more imaginative and creative and filled with the joy of living. And here the children are masters; just look at the concentrated joy in children's faces when they play well! Much of that disappears as the children are processed like raw materials through the standard educational channel - the task is to make a school so that the best qualities of children (as opposed to adults) are preserved.

So, in the hills outside Partinico - once a center of gangsterism and the mafia - some simple, yet beautiful, buildings take shape. They deserve to be followed with much interest.

8. The Experimental High School in Oslo

in the center of Oslo, very close to the Ministry of Education, there is an old, somewhat dilapidated school building. No external, glittering facade - and the inside looks rather chaotic to anybody used to conventional schools. The high school students - the Norwegian system is based on 9 years elementary school and three years high school, so they are about 15-19 years old - look even more uncombed and sometimes incredibly clothed than usual for their age. And the teachers: it is often difficult to know who are the teachers; everybody is on a first name basis, the teachers merely look like slightly older versions of the students. Some are in class, some in study groups, some are making a little tea or coffee, others are in the reading room or in the hobby rooms - and "some did not feel like going to school today".

So, what is the history, the theory and the practice of this experimental high school? It is simple and can be told quite briefly.

It all started as a reaction to the traditional Norwegian senior high school, which prepares the pupils for the important examen artium, a key institution in the Norwegian system. It is roughly the same as the German Abitur, the French baccalaureat: an exit examination which is a condition for entry into any institution of higher education. Thus, it plays some of the same role as the Japanese entrance examination, but has probably an even more negative, anti-educational effect: it deforms, even destroys the traditional senior high school, making what could be a beautiful pedagogical experience for teacher and student alike something close to a cram school -

particularly in the third year. "Remember artium", becomes the weapon of the teacher, forcing the students into an artificial discipline, making them accept curricula they otherwise are completely uninterested in.

The initiative to this school really came from below. It was taken in 1965 by three high school students who had had enough, and sent a letter to a number of persons interested in school reform - starting a discussion about alternative ways of organizing a high school. The resistance was considerable because this was a deep challenge to the established way of doing things - as will soon be clear. No support was given from central school authorities, but the municipality of Oslo made rooms and later the building available. The school was defined as an experiment, and given financial support as such.

If one should summarize in one sentence what today characterizes this high school, one might perhaps say: it is like a good university or college, only for a much younger student population. Thus, these students can decide themselves whether they want to come to class or not; nothing is obligatory. But there is a condition - the students have to say in advance whether they want to participate in one particular field or not. If they do not, this may be because they are not interested in that particular field or because they think they can learn it in some other way, for instance through self-study. If they do, then they may still drop out once in a while without creating any conflict - in short, it is all more like students choosing a lecture course. Since those who come are interested, there are very few disciplinary problems.

But there the similarity stops. The pedagogy of the school is, of course, more based on the dialogue principle; seminars rather than lectures. Moreover, rather than classes there are groups with fifteen students in each (to facilitate real participation), each with one room. There are six 45 minutes sessions per day, from 0900-1200 and from 1300-1430 - in other words one big interval rather

than five smaller ones. Six hours every week are used for thematic groups selected by the students themselves, on such themes as criminology, women's rights, Jung's psychology, ecological problems, symbolism, music appreciation etc. One experience so far is that it is important for the students to stay together in one group and not change too much from one group to another - the latter creates too much rootlessness.

The school is, unlike ordinary schools, open from 8 in the morning till 8 at night. The students make use of the facilities for continued group work, for hobby activities, or simply as a place to stay, a place one wants to be, more than requested - exactly because one can also stay there less than requested. But there are also problems in this connection. For instance, students may develop a tendency to come late to class when they are not forced by the standard routine of 45 minutes class/10 minutes interval/45 minutes class and so on. And delay is caused when some teaching has to be repeated because a student who dropped out of a class decides to drop in again.

So, there is the same freedom as at a good university, but much more activity. Seeing the students, 16-17 years old, in the school canteen, listening to them in Saturday seminar discussions (when people are called in from the outside, thus making more use of the school environment), enjoying how articulate and mature they are, one is struck by how flexible human beings are. When treated like children they become like children, when treated like graduate students they become very similar to graduate student. But again, in one sense they are superior to graduate students, because the school practices a type of direct democracy and self-management which hardly finds a parallel at the university level.

All final decisions are made by the General Assembly of the school, which meets once a week and comprises all who are members of the school (students, teachers, janitors, secretaries) according to the one person, one vote principle. All questions of principles are discussed

here, and to encourage the more timid also to speak their mind preparatory sessions are held before-hand in the groups (another good reason for keeping them relatively small). Nevertheless, the experience is that many students do not participate when examination is approaching, so although the participation rate is 70-80 % during the fall, it may drop to 25 % in the critical month of May.

Then there is the Council, which meets twice a week and is the executive of the school. The teachers elect their three representatives, the students their four, the parents have one representative; and the School Leader is also a member. The latter cannot make any decision without presenting it to the Council of General Assembly. He is more like a secretary, is elected for one year at the time, and has the same salary as the other teachers.

Under the Council there are groups, with teachers and students, working on more specific problems such as the school budget, the pedagogical structure, which applicants shall be admitted as new students and new teachers, and so on. Thus, the school does not have separate teachers' committees and students' council - they are all members of school and work together.

What are the basic problems of this institution?

First and foremost: the problem with which it all started, examen artium. It remains as the great sorting device in Norwegian society. Most students at this school want to proceed to university or other forms of higher education and hence have to get that diploma, so the school still has to prepare them for it. Norwegian official society penetrates into the enterprise, to some extent deforming also this school. Thus, the members of the school have limited control over what is to be taught since it has at least partly to conform to what is taught in ordinary schools. If they want more modern mathematics - say, more qualitative and less quantitative mathematics, or more oriented towards computers, then that is not easily done. This not only limits school democracy, but also means

less motivation to participate: much of what is taught still looks theoretical and past-oriented. And when the students finally report for that exam they do, on the average, not so well as students drilled in the traditional school, and this may cause a certain frustration. There is no test of maturity, of capacity for self-management, responsibility and democratic ability - and if there were these students would also have been against such examinations. They just want to have a real educational experience, not to be sorted; and they are now working on their own, alternative system - more in line with their principles.

So, the school remains there, not as an island but as a peninsula to the Norwegian schooling continent. As such it has had an impact far out of proportion to its modest size: around 200 students. It is probably better known abroad than the entire public system, and has served as a model for many reforms. One argument against the school has been that it isolates creative teachers and students in a little enclave all of its own. There may be something to that, but more important is the value of trying out something in detail, concretely, with a true experimental spirit - not having to wait for ministry approval for even small changes. But this is not to say that all change has to come from below and take the form of an experiment; this is a question of both-and, not either-or.

The Dolci elementary school in Sicily and the Experimental high school in Oslo are both important examples of innovation. What would they imply, transplanted to the university level? As one example in that direction the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia may serve - and that will be the theme of the next article.

9. And what about the university?

In the two foregoing articles we presented some examples of innovation in the fields of primary and secondary education - so what would be more natural than to devote this article to tertiary education, higher education, particularly to universities? After all, education constitutes a connected whole, a chain of institutions through which a person, usually young, passes. Moreover, from a parent point of view it is certainly not only primary school that matters but the entire process that ultimately delivers their offspring as a candidate to some job and position in society. Parents in Japan and other places think strategically: how shall we place our children, even before primary school, so as to launch them well into secondary school, so as to get them into university, so as to get them on the top floors in the social edifice!

So let us have a look at the university in this perspective, but with no particular university in mind. Actually, since the student revolts around 1968 - almost all over the world except in the Soviet-dominated countries where they were most brutally repressed - many changes are taking place. It is not strange that universities have been dynamic: higher education students constitute up to fifty per cent of the age group in some countries (the US, the Soviet Union), approaching one third in a country like Japan (projecting for 1986 40%), well above ten per cent in many others. Moreover, they often live together in student cities, like workers during the early part of the industrial revolution (but considerably better) - like an academic proletariat - with excellent opportunities for organizing action (unlike primary and secondary school

students who return to the family after classes are over for the day). And: they are more mature than ever before, better educated, more conscious - and less likely to accept being processed by the university like some product on an assembly line, with no influence on how that factory is constructed. On the other hand: they are also closer to the end of their studies and can more easily be intimidated by the employment situation.

Let us look at some of the major issues in higher education, trying to arrive at an image of what a good university should look like. Many of the points that will be made are not new to our readers, since a good university is to some extent what we have had in mind as a model for good primary and secondary schools.

First, there is the problem of access: who shall study at a university? Japan is here, as is well known, in a somewhat special situation. The enrollment ratio is among the highest in the world, which is very much to the credit of the Japanese society. But then there are three drawbacks: the severe entrance examinations that make life for Japanese youth so problematic, with emphasis on memorizing material often irrelevant for the line of study the student is interested in, the sharp hierarchy of universities, and the tendency to rank people according to which university they come from.

Maybe this can all be summarized in one sentence: Japanese society is rather vertical, and it looks as if the major function of the system of higher education is to sort people so that one knows who shall land on which floor in the pyramid - not so much to study, learn, develop. It may be objected that higher education sorts people in other societies as well, which is true. But this is usually done on the basis of exit rather than entrance examinations - after they have studied, possibly reflecting what they have learnt, rather than before. The universities are not that clearly ranked, or at least the pyramid is not that sharp on the top (with the exception of France with the grandes écoles), and academic records

are not that important (there are many other roads to top positions in society). Japan is no longer a feudal aristocracy, but it certainly is a "degreeocracy".

The alternative to this would be an open system, simply seeing it as the duty of a government to provide higher education to those who want it. It should then immediately be added that such a system would draw a line between higher education as a way of learning something, and higher education as a guarantee of getting a job within the field of learning. An open system is incompatible with a supply of graduates neatly adjusted to society's demands for jobs, not to mention certain pressure groups that work to limit the number of future competitors - as physicians do in some countries, engineers in others, and so on. It should also be added that education can be cheap, a university does not have to look like a palace (except if the major goal is to please status conscious professors and students), and good education can take place even if the professor/student ratio is low, provided individual study and horizontal learning (students learning from each other), good text-books and other media of instruction are fully relied upon. The argument in favor of high professor/student ratios is probably as much motivated by university graduates' desire to get a job that keeps them at the university as by real pedagogical concerns.

Would such an open system be flooded by students, and would it lead to lower standards of higher learning? The two questions are related. If somebody offers a course in mathematics or Russian there may be very many at the introductory level but as it becomes more complicated hard work is needed to hang on. In general I do not think people enroll in courses just to be there - when there is no promise of a diploma that will more or less guarantee you a job. Only very few people are masochists, and to sit in on something of which you understand nothing is masochism. Those who participate will be those who are genuinely interested - those who demand to learn. A system that refuses them access to the fountains of learning be-

cause they do not have a high school certificate (as in Europe) or have not passed the entrance examination (as in Japan and the US) is not a good system. For education should be regarded as a fundamental need, like food, clothes and shelter, and health - not as a luxury like a car. So the elementary courses may be quite flooded, and if they are that is a sign of a population thirsty for knowledge - in other words a sign of a truly developed, human society.

Nor is there any danger that the quality of learning would go down; it would merely change. A less career-oriented type of education changes the focus of interest. On the other hand, good education will always be practice-oriented, which is not the same as job-oriented. You can study mathematics and Russian and engage in learning by doing; that does not mean that one's horizon is dominated by the perspective of becoming an engineer or a translator.

Incidentally, if universities really were open, that might also solve some other major social problems, perhaps particularly in Japan. Today most universities are practically speaking reserved for a certain age group, in their late teens and early twenties. It is a ghetto for the youth, just as adult education and life long education concepts lead in the direction of ghettos for the middle-aged and the old. So-called primitive societies were often wiser in this respect, keeping the generations closer together. The idea of job-oriented education discriminates against those who already have a job, makes it more difficult to change jobs and careers in mid-life after one has exhausted one's potential in one type of work and run dry, and is particularly cruel with the old, the retired, who are left alone in hobby clubs and old age associations. The young need the old as classmates for their experience, the old need the rejuvenating effect of associating with the young, the teacher needs the challenge from the entire age scale in order not to believe that he is the wisest simply because he is the oldest!

Second, the courses. We have argued before in favor of

many units that the student can combine more or less as he or she likes. What should be avoided are watertight schools with no or little chance of switching from one line of study to the other. In reality, these schools are survivals of the old artisanal, guild type education from earlier ages and are more appropriate in feudal, even caste societies. Why should a student not take some courses in law, then some in medicine, then a little economics and some history and physics - and then perhaps back to law again! The result would be a person able to formulate and solve new problems, a person capable of pushing the border of professional skills into the unknown. As it is today universities impede rather than facilitate the expansion of human skills.

Needless to say, what applies to switching from one line of study to another should also apply to switching from one university to another. The best way of making universities more equal to each other is not merely to equalize their share of public funds, but also to encourage mobility of professors and students among them. This also reduces the very great danger of in-breeding, leading to universities where more than 90, close to one hundred percent of the staff are graduates of the same university and hence rather unexposed to different ways of thinking and studying. Again, flexibility may lead to some inefficiency, perhaps a year "lost" relative to the student who stays in line, proceeding on the assembly line prepared for him by others. But that student lost a chance to experiment, to be challenged by what is new and different and to stimulate others through his special ways of seeing things.

Third, what about the form of education? I think the answer is very simple: pedagogical pluralism. There is probably one method that should not be used, at least not often: the lecture without questions and discussions. Much better is probably a presentation where the resource persons (a much better term than teacher or professor - a resource for others) also point to what they consider the weak points in their own approach, followed by a dis-

cussion of at least equal length - partly right after the presentation, partly after the participants have prepared themselves. The important point is that this is also much more rewarding for the resource person, much better than just listening to himself or herself.

Fourth, universities should try to become international in faculty and student body, and also do some teaching in foreign languages, by foreigners. This is more than a question of learning foreign languages. It is above all a question of seeing oneself and one's own country as a part of the world, struggling together with the rest of humanity for its amelioration. Good education in general, and good universities in particular, would never present society as an instrument for the individual career, or the world as an instrument for national growth, but always strongly emphasize mutual and equitable participation. Universities, as the old term indicates in many languages, should be universal rather than national. Actually, all universities should be trans-national today, open for study and graduation to students from as many countries as possible, and not be reserved for the country's own citizens.

Today the general trend is in all the directions indicated above, including the last point. This is particularly clear in such an institution as the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia where about forty universities from around the world have come together to make short, intensive courses for post-graduate students in such areas as peace studies, development theory, futurology, local government, workers' participation in the running of factories, philosophy of science and humanism, etc.

In short, great changes are taking place in higher education today. They are important not only for tertiary education but also because they will serve as examples for primary and secondary education to imitate. And they are important, not only for education, but for the broader cause of peace.

10. Learning, education and schooling

The time has now come to summarize what has been said in these articles, look at it critically, and then try to see it all in a wider perspective. For instance, in the three preceding articles some ideas have been presented about the three levels of education. What society would we get if we put them all together so that children would start with something like the Dolci school in Sicily, then go to the experimental high school in Oslo, and then proceed to the most modern forms of higher education, all the time balancing theory and practice, manual and mental work? Would we like this type of schooling system, would we like this type of society?

At this point it might be useful to make a clear the distinctions between learning, education and schooling. Learning goes on all the time: we change, or at least fill in, the maps of the world that we carry in our minds; we build up patterns of behavior. Learning is theory and action. It is more knowledge about our neighbors, grocery prices, ourselves, our jobs, history and mathematics; and it is new "action sequences" - new ways of being helpful to others, of saving money, of building on the strong sides rather than the weak ones in one's own person, of carrying out the job - for good or for bad. A person who no longer learns, whose cognitive map has been frozen and whose action repertory never changes is in a sense psychologically and socially dead - however much that person is biologically alive. There is no longer any personal growth. But then it should immediately be added that this is hardly the person's fault. It is usually simply because he or she has been put into a little cell in the vast social

structure, and life at all levels - in the family, at work and elsewhere - has become a routine. Of course, many people can continue to learn, to grow even in a prison cell; but in general society has to stimulate through variety, mobility and flexibility for learning to continue.

Then, there is education, or formal learning. At this stage there is more consciousness that learning goes on, and above all: there are social roles, there is a teacher and there is a student, and something is communicated between them. Education is a social process, it is not any type of random learning, mainly through experience whereby the individual learns even without knowing it. Usually we tend to think of it as a social process where the communication is from teacher to student because the teacher knows more, has more to communicate. But this is a very limited perspective.

First, the teacher and the student may be the same person in which case we have self-education, and a major purpose of education must be to learn how to engage in this. Of course, everybody has the experience of doing homework at school, but that is merely preparation for conventional vertical education. The idea is always that the teacher will control and evaluate. One reason why so few people continue to educate themselves systematically after they have left school seems to be that they have not been given any concept of self-reliance in education. Education becomes meaningless unless there is somebody to report to and to be evaluated by. Thus, very few people have training in getting essential points from what they read, in how to take notes, to store what they have learnt, how best to share it with others and develop it further.

Second, the teacher and the student may be at the same level, in which case we have horizontal education. It may take different forms: "Today I teach you and tomorrow you teach me", or "let us learn together, study together". University students make use of both forms; high school

students and elementary school students should also be encouraged to do so. For these forms of education certainly do not exclude each other, but our vertical societies are biased in favor of vertical education. Thus, probably very few adults know how to behave in a truly horizontal study group, constantly learning together. Horizontal education would be like a true love relation: one no longer uses others as a resource for personal pleasure and growth, partly by tapping their knowledge, partly by using them as a testing ground for one's own ideas in order to have them reflected through the minds of others. It becomes equally important to stimulate growth in others. In a first phase this may take place by being a resource and a testing ground for them, by being an object for them, not being a subject using them as an object. In the next phase it may become a subject-subject relation, a togetherness in exploring the unknown. But how often does this really take place in society?

Then there is schooling, or formal education. There is still education, usually in vertical form, and there is learning going on - but a new element has been added. The purpose is no longer only learning, to create an educated person, but to create a schooled person. Schooling is a social contract. A schooled person has a status, he is a graduate. As such he is entitled to a job or a new position as a student. (A person may be as educated as any graduate, but if he has not passed through the school he is not given access to jobs or to higher schools.) This does not mean that the person is guaranteed a position at work or in a new school - demand may exceed supply and he may have to compete, as in the Japanese entrance examination system. But he is permitted to participate in the competition.

In other words, schooling ties education to jobs and in general to the whole economic structure of society; non-formal education (not to mention non-formal learning) may simply be for individual pleasure and personal growth. And having said this the major point about all these articles can now be formulated in two sentences:

- (1) As to schooling: less schooling, more education!
- (2) As to education: less vertical, more horizontal and self-education!

The first thesis can be associated with the name of Ivan Illich and his famous book Deschooling Society, the second with the name of Paulo Freire and the even more famous book The Pedagogy of the Oppressed; the two leading thinkers in education today. Freire applies the thesis above all to the oppressed in oppressed countries, such as the land-workers and peasants in the northeastern part of his native Brasil. Only through a dialogue controlled by themselves can those at the bottom of society become conscious of their own situation and able to fight for their own liberation. Vertical education, and particularly in the form of schooling, is likely to become a tool of indoctrination in the status quo.

The concrete implications of the two theses above, drawn from these articles, center on the abolition of examinations for sorting and placing people (but not as a pedagogical tool and in order to give a sense of completion and culmination); and on a number of ways of making education less vertical. The most important one is probably to have much more mixing of age groups, and, as Dolci points out, to train a new type of teacher who is a specialist in creating genuine dialogues. For all these approaches there are many experiments and traditions to draw upon. Thus, the famous Summerhill school was and is a teacher-student community and, as with the experimental school in Oslo it was realized that this is only meaningful when teachers and students not only share the education but also the decisions, the politics of the school. One cannot hope to train people for democracy through beautiful words alone when the entire school structure remains autocratic. Decentralization, much less control from central authorities and real power to all groups concerned with the school (teachers, students, the administrative personnel, parents, neighbors) is indispensable - at all levels of education. The position as a headmaster or rector or vice-chancellor,

for instance, should be by election and for a limited time period (say, from one to three years), not a permanent position. Not only senior staff but also junior staff should be eligible (like the university assistants who are today presidents of such major universities as Hamburg and Berlin in Germany); and students should have the right to vote. Do not worry, maturity comes through challenge - after all, this is the basic idea of democracy.

All such things are happening today, but perhaps more with the second than with the first thesis above. Of course, the famous schools founded by Rudolf Steiner, the founder of anthroposophy, and all the Nordic folk high schools, have always been hostile to examinations and more education than schooling oriented (on the other hand, they have also been rather vertical). There is much to learn from all these experiments, but to copy them slavishly would be, indeed, vertical education!

At this point, in order not to be misunderstood, let us repeat again that there is no argument here against ensuring that people have technical competence in their jobs, as surgeons carrying out operations, as engineers building bridges, as pilots, maybe as parents raising children, maybe as citizens exercising control over their government, or indeed as government officials. There is a need for schooling in any society. But the whole idea of training people for professional competence and for certificates that entitle them to something should be limited to professional schools, and the professional schools should be a part of a realistic work situation. In other words, one thing is a student who want to get education, searching in many directions, often playfully; quite another thing is a trainee, an apprentice. In older days the two were kept more separate; the apprentice acquired his skills on the job, from the master - and there were academies, temples, universities for the pursuit of knowledge. The two were brought together and schooling has expanded vastly in so-called modern societies, at the

expense of true education. It is high time to keep them more separate again.

Seen in this perspective there is something very progressive about the Japanese entrance examinations. In principle they could be a way of leaving primary and secondary schools free from the assault on human dignity that examination drills are. Based on European experience I would say: do not ever replace them by exit examinations from senior high schools - that will have a catastrophic impact on the atmosphere in both secondary and primary schools. A better solution would be to have a lower level of tertiary education open to all who want - young and old - and then entrance examinations for professional schools that train for specific jobs. But in that case the entrance examinations should be geared to the specific subject, as argued in the Asahi Shimbun column Tensei Jingo (AEN 27/3):

"To place at the very top only those honor students who can give correct answers to everything is to create a faceless society".

No doubt, we are now in a revolutionary period in education, all over the world. There is an education explosion just as there is economic growth and population explosion. It is important to reflect on where this is leading us. And one key point here is the following: education is not only what is taught, it is also a social structure. As said above: one thing is a lecture on democracy, another thing is whether the school is democratic. To paraphrase MacLuhan and his famous "the medium is the message": "the structure is the message". It is not so much the content of education as the form of education that matters. Students today are more interested in a professor's or teacher's own life-style than in what he or she may say about life-styles - a terrifying and important point for teachers and professors!

But won't all these experiments in horizontal and consciousness-raising education remain islands in a vertical, even capitalist society? Perhaps. But changes in education,

away from centralization and control from above, can also have important carry-over effects on the rest of society and lead to imitation elsewhere. People who have learnt self-reliance, individually and in solidarity with others, will not so easily be manipulated and bossed. The great mistake of Eastern European marxism was their belief that government control of all production and social planning for real needs was sufficient to bring about a good society. They forgot, among other things, the structure of the factory, the school, the family - the whole micro level where we all live, every day. Today these are merely old-fashioned versions of what is found in the capitalist West. Also, they had much too much faith in the idea that changes have to come from the economic sector of society. Actually, the number of people in school is now approaching, even passing, the number of people at work in the most "developed" societies. That should make changes in education even more important, and certainly much too important to be left to educators, politicians and ministries alone.

11. Peace education

What is peace education? As I am a peace researcher by profession and concerned with education, the following is an effort to present some views on this highly controversial subject.

I think it might clarify the issue to start by making a distinction between the content and the form of peace education. The content is a question of a curriculum, something to be taught and to be learnt. There will be considerable disagreement as to the precise nature of the content; if this is not already evident to the reader it hopefully will be after having contemplated the pages to follow. But there is probably nevertheless some agreement that words like "international understanding", "co-operation", "peace", "human rights", "fundamental freedoms" stand for a certain social order, within and between states. It has something to do not only with absence of violence, but also with autonomy, equality, satisfaction of fundamental needs (food, clothes, shelter, health, education). In other words, it is a structure, which rules out not only violence, but also dominance.

But schools in particular and the whole schooling situation in general also have structures, with highs and lows; if not with violence, certainly with dominance. So the problem arises: can one fill classes of peace education with talk about equality between states, big and small, when there is so little equality between teachers and pupils, between professors and students? Can one teach democracy and one-man-one-vote in a highly authoritarian school or university where nobody even dreams of letting pupils and students participate in decision-

making, leave alone having the same power per person as the teachers and professors? Will it not merely sound hypocritical? Or even worse, remain empty words that are nullified through the much stronger message of verticality and dominance as normal and acceptable conveyed through the structure itself? For even though structures do not speak they probably leave a much more indelible impression on our minds than the most beautiful rhetoric. Hence, the argument would be, peace education cannot be only about peace; it has to be peace - day-to-day practice developing out of school reality, not only words that easily are covered with dust and equally easily forgotten.

Then there is a second distinction which refers to the content: that between problems and conflicts. The distinction is absolutely basic, and ignored or glossed over in most or all of the attempts I have seen to develop some form of peace education - the epoch-making approach by Paulo Freire in his Pedagogy of the Oppressed being the important exception. The problems of peace are well known to all of us: the threat of war (between and within states), poverty, all kinds of injustice and suppression of rights, and problems related to the environment. (These can actually be divided into three: the depletion of raw materials, the pollution of nature and of ourselves, and the population problem.) Turn these four problems around and they read absence of violence, economic welfare (including satisfaction of fundamental needs), social justice (including satisfaction of human rights) and ecological balance. These four values are not a bad formulation of what one might mean by "peace". It sums up the world's major problems quite well, but there is something very basic that is nevertheless missing if we hope to come anywhere near an understanding of the problems of peace.

And this is conflict, or more precisely conflict formation. In conflict formations states, classes, groups of people, individuals are pitted against each other, in open, direct conflict (like between Arabs and Israelis

today) or in structural conflict that may one day turn into an open conflict (like between Africa states and the European Community or between Southeast-Asian states and Japan - due to the economic relations). There are many conflict formations in the world, and two of them are particularly well known from the press: the so-called East-West conflict and the so-called North-South conflict. However, if one wants to make some kind of conflict map of the world another way of looking at it may perhaps be better - and one suggestion is as follows:

	<u>Capitalist imperialism</u>			<u>Social imperialism</u>	
<u>Center</u>	US	EC	Japan	Soviet Union	China
	Canada	Rest-		Non-Russian	
		EFTA		republics	
<u>Periphery</u>	Latin America	Black Africa	Southeast Asia	Eastern Europe	Mongolia Cuba
<u>Autonomous</u>	Peru?	Tanzania	Burma	Yugoslavia Albania	

According to this map the world is seen as two great empires: the capitalist one rules by a triumvirate of the Big Three - the United States, the European Community and Japan - and another rules by the Soviet Union (or by Russia to be more precise, for much of the periphery of that empire is found inside the Soviet Union). These two empires are actually relatively similar. What happens in the periphery is to a large extent dictated from the center, and the center has "bridgeheads" in the periphery: commercial elites, daughter companies etc. in the case of capitalist imperialism, daughter party elites in the case of social imperialism, very well known phenomena in the periphery countries. In fact so well known that there is considerable reaction in the periphery, a striving towards autonomy. The first example within this map was Russia in 1917, followed by other Eastern European countries (1945-48), then China in 1949 and so on until Cuba in 1959. But Russia became the powerful Soviet Union and started creating its own periphery with its own liberation movements: Yugoslavia in 1948, China from the mid 1950s culminating with the

And there are many others, but let this suffice to come to the major point in connection with peace education.

We cannot continue teaching our pupils and students about "problems" in general; we have to be more honest and place these problems in their political setting - and the conflict formations give a good basis for doing so. Of course, this brings us into "politics", and to believe that we can have anything like peace education without touching politics is not only naive, but also in itself a very political point of view, and a way of manipulating young people so as to make them insensitive to the reality of the world around them. Of course, this can be done in many different ways and many would disagree with the map above and perhaps put forward an alternative map. So, what could be better than discussing precisely this, using as teaching material how various states and groups and authors see the major dividing lines in the world?

Most important in this connection is, however, not the precise nature of the conflict map but the willingness to discuss problems in a conflict setting. For look at the problems listed above. Look at war. There is no such thing as an abstract threat of use of violence in general, of atomic weapons suddenly being released, of military coups d'état suddenly taking place. On the contrary, violence is unleashed in a setting, and by and large the setting is that of capitalist and social imperialism. Of the more than one hundred wars since 1945 at least 75% can be explained either as revolts against the centers (the US, Western European former or present colonial countries, the Soviet Union) or as efforts by these countries to maintain status quo. The same applies, of course, even more to revolutions and coups d'état. It is in this vertical setting that the enormous world machinery for organized violence becomes meaningful. It is not in the so-called East-West conflict since that conflict is in all essentials dead. Of course, there was once a conflict over the form of regime in Eastern Europe (and in China,

to see it from an Asian point of view); but that conflict evaporated partly because the Western powers (and Japan) gradually accustomed themselves to the new order, partly because they were given new chances to invest, to import raw materials and energy and export processed goods.

They were even encouraged to refer to this as "peace" and "cooperation". Today one may even say that all the military force accumulated in the NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organization systems is much more likely to be used inside the systems of capitalist and social imperialism than between them. They can be used in future Indochina wars, in a war between the Soviet Union and China; but hardly between the US and the Soviet Union and their allies, and hardly between China and Japan, for instance.

What about the second major problem: poverty? Real poverty is today mainly found in one very special, although very extensive place in the world: in the periphery of the periphery countries in the capitalist system. The world's misery is concentrated there. Hence, once more: it makes very little sense to discuss poverty in general as a problem of aid or development. It has a very definite political address: some people are poor because others are rich. Actually, there are only four "third world" countries that have managed to satisfy the fundamental needs for their masses and they are precisely the socialist developing countries; Cuba, China, North Korea and North Vietnam. In all four cases it took remarkably short time to rectify the situation - a harsh indictment of the system they left behind.

What about social justice, human rights? If capitalist imperialism produces misery then infraction of even elementary human rights is the speciality of social imperialism. The freedoms to move and to be visited, to express and to be impressed by what one chooses to read and listen to, to form associations, even to organize political action are systematically repressed in the countries under Soviet hegemony. The strong point about socialism in the world today is its ability to satisfy fundamental needs,

the weak point is in this field. But that does not mean that human rights are respected in the capitalist sphere. On the contrary, particularly the US has shown a pronounced tendency to favor dictatorial regimes. Control over other countries is facilitated when the masses are poor and apathetic and ignorant and repression is rampant. Look at torture, for instance. Again, it is not an abstract thing suddenly appearing in a country. It is a clear result of the effort to establish and maintain an empire against people's will. And the superpowers seem even to operate through some kind of sub-imperialism here. Iran did the job for the US in Uman and Dhoffar, Brasil for the US in Chile; Cuban secret police were trained by Czech secret police that had themselves been trained by the Russians, etc.

What about ecological imbalance? Depletion and pollution are both produced by excessive industrialization, whether capitalist or socialist. Often those responsible for these phenomena live in beautiful houses and offices well protected from such nuisances. The depletion takes place far away in poor countries that are robbed of their precious raw materials, not for the benefit of their own population, but to satisfy the needs of production machineries in the center countries (except China which does not import raw materials to any significant extent). In other words, these phenomena have a structure, and that structure is very closely related to the basic conflict formations in the world. And the same applies to the so-called population problem. It is intimately connected with the form of production. A capitalist system is based increasingly on capital and research intensive forms of production, and the inevitable result is that many, many people become unnecessary as producers and too poor to serve as consumers. The productivity is too high, the system becomes dependent on export; too few people produce too much. The system can no longer cope with the poverty of the periphery countries - so the simplest solution is to reduce their numbers. Actually, the really simplest way

would be to kill them but since that is fascist, the idea of "family planning" for the poor in the poor countries emerged - from the United States. The extremely heavy protest against this type of demo-politics was the most important result of the UN population conference in Bucuresti recently. Increasingly, poor countries are looking for more labor intensive production systems, so that they can make better use of their population to increase the standard of living.

And thus one could continue - but this is not an essay on international relations. It is actually merely an essay on one thing: the importance of discussing the relations between problem and conflict even in the early phases of education. For conflict formations create and shape the problems. The solution to the problem of suppression of human rights is hardly to urge all governments to behave more nicely, but to try to do something about the major forms of dominance in the world. Of course, there will still be smaller forms, within periphery countries for instance - but an extension of the region of autonomy in the map would help considerably. And the problems help create and shape conflict formations. Thus, given the increasing scarcity of certain raw materials a country like Japan may be more and more squeezed and this may lead to more imperialist policies in Southeast Asia - although it does not look likely right now. What is important is only that there is a relation between problems and politics and we do not help our children by pretending this is not the case.

And at this point the distinction between education and schooling once more becomes very clear. Schooling easily becomes an instrument in the hands of the government, and the government is not very likely to give an image of itself as dominant and repressive, to its own pupils. The two superpowers of the world today, the US and the Soviet Union, are also the countries highest in the world when it comes to how much schooling the population has gone through - and it is evident from the map that this has

not prevented these two countries from sometimes playing a less than perfectly peaceful role in the world. True peace education is therefore more likely to be some kind of movement among the suppressed, in the periphery countries where the true structure of the world is often much more clearly seen. But truly independent school systems in any country would not withhold such matters from their pupils - for which reason it is to be hoped that peace education will grow quickly in significance - and throughout the world.

12. Thinking about education: An epilogue

When the first ten articles above had been published in Japan, I asked for comments from the readers - comments of all kinds, also questions, criticism. And some came for which I am very grateful. Not very many though - maybe because the readers did not find the column interesting enough, and also maybe because the idea of some kind of a dialogue with an author was too strange. Well, if the last interpretation is correct this somehow goes in the direction of proving one of my points: the verticality of our schools, of the whole way we think about education, tends to foster a passive, even submissive attitude in audiences. As a result only very few people - and usually the same people - participate in discussions at public meetings or in mass media, which is sad because a creative, dynamic society cannot afford to miss the voice or the pen of anybody.

Looking at the letters that came I am struck by the extent to which they refer to the three concrete cases mentioned: the Dolci school in Sicily, the experimental school in Oslo, and the ideas about new types of universities. Somehow the concrete cases appealed more than the general theory - which is highly understandable. In this there is something - to my mind very positive - that I as a Westerner often notice in Japan and in the Japanese: a tendency to prefer discussions at a very concrete level and to stay away from abstractions of the type the French and the Germans, for instance, very often indulge in, with great talent. It may perhaps even be said that this is built into the Japanese language with the characters (and the words) representing things

rather than concepts, forcing the Japanese closer to the ground so that they less easily get lost in airy speculations. But in this there is also a danger: that there is not sufficient discussion of underlying principles. As a result there may be a temptation to imitate concrete models abroad rather than reason from more general principles to find the concrete form that would be best in a Japanese setting.

One point that repeatedly is mentioned by readers is the fight underlying the three concrete cases. In all three there is opposition to overcome, even considerable resistance from central authorities. The readers seem to draw the conclusion that educational innovation is not to be expected from ministries of education, but has to come from the outside, from the periphery of the school system so to speak. Often one simply has to act, as Dolci did - not limiting oneself to speaking and writing, not waiting for permission or money or both from above.

I tend to agree with this. Increasingly I get the feeling that what central authorities can do is only to provide a framework and some channels for money and other means of education. Real education takes place at the micro level, it can never be organized from above in any detail if one wants real quality. Conditions differ so much, teachers and pupils are all human beings - highly dissimilar, changing, inconsistent - so the more specific the rules from above, the less education there will be. Schooling as a factory process can be organized from above, but as we have argued at some length: this is not the same as education. Education takes place in these moments of inspiration when the whole class, teacher and pupils, suddenly forget that they are a class and just get carried away by the content, the substance of what they are studying, so eager that they almost forget where they are. But such moments cannot be planned; they can only be created. Schools should be so flexible that there are many of these moments, more than enough to eliminate the boredom and anxiety I spoke about in the

first column - and that can only happen if teachers and pupils are relatively free. In short: central school authorities should trust teachers and pupils more and not bombard them with rules and regulations and instructions. People want to learn, but they learn best when they somehow manage to find their own way of learning. This is a universal problem: in almost all countries today one finds the tendency for central school authorities to confuse their own paper plans with what really goes on in the thousands of classes, like a general fighting a battle on the map.

Some other readers point to one particular difficulty with universities: they tend to discriminate against middle-aged and older people. Just as we have racism in the world, and sexism (particularly discrimination against women) we have age-ism - the rule of the middle-aged over the old and the young. Schools are run by the middle-aged who use them to exercise power over the young - to the exclusion of the old, and usually also to the exclusion of the middle-aged; they are there only as teachers or professors, not as pupils or students. Incidentally, of all countries I found this to be particularly true in China: students in the regular university courses are strictly of the same age (early twenties, unmarried). Needless to say, this tends to strengthen the power of the teacher: he or she becomes like a father/mother figure, unopposed, with nobody of the same age or even older to match teacher knowledge with, at least, their own experience.

This has something to do with what another reader reports: professors who travel around and give talks, lectures, with little content, more or less saying, "listen to me, you stupid people". Certainly, there are such professors. But how do you expect many professors to be different if they are not stimulated and aided through criticism and debate? If the students never ask difficult questions, never doubt what is being said; if the professor is used to talking in an unopposed manner

then he himself will not grow through the process. We all remember how in the late 1960's, decades of silence were suddenly broken and an explosion of opposition suddenly emerged - the so-called "student unrest". It was exaggerated, very often asking more of professors than they could possibly offer. But more tragic is the way in which this movement somehow seemed to die out, to be absorbed in the existing system. It is tragic because students will learn less when there is less dialogue; it is tragic because professors and teachers will grow less, will more easily stagnate. They may even become like Soviet professors unused to fundamental social debate in their own country: totally untrained in critical dialogue they either become hysterical or withdraw into silence when somebody questions their assumptions. Pupils, students and others should remember this: it is not only your right but your duty to question, even oppose - not to destroy another person but to help him or her develop further together with you. So do it gently, softly, with compassion - but do it.

Still another reader brings out one important point: Obviously not only the Japanese education system is in difficulty - there are problems in Western countries as well. Indeed, certainly - but the problems are relatively similar, I think. Japan has concentrated much on the examination: the university entrance examination; Western schools tend to spread the pressure and fear and anxiety more evenly over the entire period of schooling. But basically the problems are the same because the model is the same: the production of school graduates at different levels according to rules not decided by themselves, and in order to fill the needs of the society, so as to stabilize that society rather than to change it.

That reader, himself a teacher, points out that he often learns more about schools and gets more new ideas from people who are not themselves educators: from writers, poets, movie critics. It is sad, but educators all over the world seem today to have the same experience: that

the school system itself does not generate enough innovation. Why not? Probably for the reasons mentioned: the system is too full of rules from above so that creativity at the bottom is somehow killed. Moreover, only from the outside does one clearly see the more basic aspects of the system - just as I often learn more about my own country, Norway, from foreigners than from fellow Norwegians. Of course, when it comes to details we Norwegians certainly know more, but when it comes to seeing what makes our country different from others we are blind. Writers, poets, movie critics can see the system from the outside and they have experience with other parts of society; they can compare and draw their conclusions.

Finally, several readers express their basic agreement: schools should be more horizontal, more based on dialogue - but they have one rather basic objection: society is vertical. If schools become more horizontal and no longer sort people so that they come out equal, full of ability to question and discuss and express, also to act - how do they then fit into a vertical society? Obviously this leads to difficulties, so let me add some points.

First, this will have to be a gradual process. A more horizontal school will lead to different ways of organizing firms and factories and institutions - for if pupils have had a good taste of real democracy at school they will miss it when they enter a hierarchical, authoritarian organization.

Second, schools have an important function in this process. Marxists have always seen the organization of production as the key element in social change, no doubt with some right. But maybe in our increasingly school-oriented societies education takes on a similar role? In other words, perhaps the education system not only mirrors the society at large, but also to some extent determines it?

And with those words I would like, together with my Japanese wife who has worked with me on these articles, to say good-bye. In spite of all the criticism of schools

and education I think we all share one basic idea: that some school is nevertheless, usually, better than no school at all - and gratitude for the fact that due to the schooling we have had - however faulty - we are nevertheless able to communicate with each other across the whole globe, through writing and reading. So let us join in making this key institution in our societies even better - for it is capable of improvement and it needs the contribution of all of us to become much, much better.

APPENDIX:
AN INTERVIEW

The interview was carried out in Swedish and Norwegian and tape recorded. It was slightly edited and translated into English by Ake Bjerstedt. Finally, the English version was examined and accepted by the interviewee.

Future consciousness and the school

Interviewee: Professor Johan Galtung

Interviewer: Gunnel Ankarstrand-Lindström (Project "Preparedness for the Future", Malmö School of Education)

Time and place: October 1981, Tampere, Finland

1.

GA: What do you think of first when you hear the expression "preparedness for the future"?

JG: Personally, I tend to associate it with being some sort of hedgehog, defending oneself and being afraid. So I would prefer the word "future consciousness", which was much used when I was president of World Future Studies Federation. This means that one is conscious of the future in terms of what is probable, what is possible and what is desirable. The term is used in a similar way to the expression "historically conscious": there are people for whom history does not exist and others who do experience the past. For me, preparedness for the future would be an experience of the future: that one has some kind of mental map of the future.

GA: What time perspective would you think of?

JG: That is probably very different for different individuals, but it should be more than the political future dimension - which is an election period, usually about four years. Since the 60s we have looked forward to the year 2000, because of the three naughts. Now that period is getting a little short; so let us say a generation, or about 30 years.

2.

GA: If you think back on your own school days, did school then, in your opinion, give you any preparedness for the future?

JG: No. I cannot remember anything that had to do with the future: neither the possible or probable, nor the desirable. I went to school from 1936 to 1948; a totally future-unconscious school. We got some consciousness of history, which I am grateful for, but absolutely no consciousness of the future.

GA: You feel that your school did not directly foster any future consciousness. But perhaps there were contents in various school subjects that prepared you in some ways to meet and form the future?

JG: No. The only subject that perhaps gave some room for imagination was Norwegian, that is, writing compositions in our own language. But as a rule these compositions dealt with the past or the present.

3.

GA: Do you believe that school, as you know it today, gives the pupils a good preparedness to meet and form the future?

JG: No, as far as my experience goes, it does not do that. I have had a fair amount of contact with the Norwegian, French, Swiss, Spanish and Malay schools. My youngest son has gone to six different schools. As far as I know, none of these schools has taken up questions about the future. This relates to the traditional role of the school as status quo oriented. It is supposed to supply the cultural heritage and to do that in a positive way so that one does not question it. Young people are expected to find an identity through language teaching, knowledge about history etc. The future on the other hand is something open, and uncertain; something that does not fit in very well in the traditions of the school.

Personally, I have often discussed the future with school pupils, and my experience is that they feel that this topic is something new and fascinating that they appreciate very much. I then talk about my own area of interest - as a futurist researcher dealing with problems of peace and development. When I started to take up such questions in schools in the 60s with upper secondary students, these students expressed a

great need to hear about the future, whereas many adults considered it irrelevant. The students wanted to know what kind of world they would probably meet. They were quite fascinated by this topic.

4.

GA: How do you look upon the idea of introducing questions of peace in the school teaching - within a future-oriented teaching?

JG: With some scepticism. I think it is difficult - among other things, since the state, having a monopoly on both the military area and the school, would probably tend to experience a defense-critical teaching in school as something contradictory. Probably only untraditional schools and especially brave, committed teachers want to do that, perhaps with protests from the parents and the press.

I have an additional reason for my somewhat sceptical attitude: School often makes the most fascinating subjects dull. This may have a negative effect. I believe, for instance, that school has contributed highly to the fact that many young people tend to think of religion as something very dull. If I were a Christian, I would try to get teaching about Christianity removed from school. And if I were a Marxist, I would try to avoid having Marxism as a school subject.

Thus, I think there is a risk that dealing with peace and future research in school may mean a process of domestication, making the topic too non-controversial. On the other hand, I am of course aware that it would give the young people a lot of concrete knowledge of value for their future. This has also to be considered.

GA: Is it correct to say that you would not want to have it written into the formal curriculum, only recommend it when the teacher is committed himself?

JG: Yes. Then it may evoke a fantastic response among the students.

GA: If we think of taking up questions related to the future in general in school, do you think that that also depends very much upon the individual teacher?

JG: Yes, even more so than when we deal with questions of peace. What the school can cope with best in general is to give technical skills (such as language skills) and fairly uncontroversial facts (such as mathematics). In political, emotional, controversial areas the school does not succeed as well, except when the teacher is very committed. - When we deal with aspects of the future, there is also another factor to be considered, that is, the age difference between those who decide upon the teaching content and those who are supposed to learn, as a rule a difference of 40 to 50 years. It does not matter very much when dealing with the teaching of English; there are no major changes over time. But thinking about the future is something very different for a sixty-year old, with only twenty years ahead of him, and for children and young people.

There is a very interesting book about how children and young people look upon the future. It is called "21 barn berättar om framtiden" (21 children talk about the future), authored by Lisa Berg and Annika Holm. I wrote a postscript to it. In interviews, young people display a deep pessimism about the probable future; they develop a fair amount of imagination about possible futures and very strong values about desired futures. And they have a holistic view, not attending to minor details. Among sixty year olds, on the other hand, you usually find less pessimism, very limited imagination and attempts to hide the values under a mask of authority.

The contrasts between the two age groups are so marked that if one taught about the future in the ordinary way, one might perhaps kill the interest in the future. By the way, I think that women tend to be better suited to do this than men. Women often think

more holistically and express values more clearly, whereas men tend to take on an uncommitted expert role - especially the Swedish expert animals who often even succeed in pronouncing "Yes" so that it sounds like hesitation.

5.

GA: School work directed towards the future may work with the various aspects you have mentioned: Probable futures, possible futures and desirable futures. The commitment of the teachers to values, especially when they deal with desirable futures, may be controversial. How do you look upon the role of school in connection with these three types of visions of the future?

JG: I think it is profitable for the pupils to get to know materials dealing with "probable futures", about various trends etc. It is very important, of course, that they be exposed to different perspectives, not just one. "Possible futures" - well, that is a question of imagination. Here I think science fiction, for example, may be of use. But when we come to "desirable futures", then the young people should themselves be responsible for the formulations.

GA: How should the teacher approach the problem of values?

JG: The teacher should take up a debate on different values. This should be done as early as possible.

GA: Don't you see any problems here, for some teachers?

JG: Yes, some teachers may be shocked or frustrated, when confronted with young people who dare to formulate what they believe in, which might be very different from what the teacher believes. The problem is the teacher, not the students. The teacher may then say that the students do not have enough knowledge, and that they need more knowledge before they take up a position. And then we have arrived at the too frequent pedagogics of depression! My experience is that when one asks children or young people to say something about desirable futures, they have a lot of good ideas,

quite comparable to an average head of a state department!

GA: Can you give some examples of how you may deal with these three types of future visions in school?

JG: First of all, all three should be utilized, and differences among them should be discussed. One good way to start may be to take up "desirable futures" for the school, since that is a part of the world that everybody is familiar with. Another possibility is family life.

6.

GA: How would you like to introduce future perspectives in the teaching on the upper secondary school level? In which school subjects?

JG: I would prefer to have it as a dimension in all school subjects. In each subject area one should ask: "What does development mean in this area? What is probable, possible, desirable?" It can be economics, geography etc. Discussions fit this kind of approach, since they give good room for evaluations. The best starting-points would be the family and the school; and then one should proceed to the local community, the own country, and the global society - that is, use five levels.

A special technique that helps one to think in terms of alternatives is the "contrafactual experiment". School often makes the mistake of presenting the historical development as the only possibility. But the history teachers may ask: "Imagine that the other side had lost this battle, what would have happened then? If Karl XII had not been shot, what would have happened? If Henry the Eighth had had another kind of personality, what would have happened then? This is a way of developing imagination. The teacher may give some starting ideas and carry the students along with him.

You might also start from the present. For instance, if the armament race is turned to disarmament, if the

Swedish voting about nuclear energy had ended instead with a clear victory for line 3, or if Palme had been prime minister now; what would have happened then?

As teaching is usually done, the pupils get the impression that the empirical development is the only possible one. Instead, pupils should be trained to be open to other possibilities.

Our teaching about the history of science is also very important. Usually one teaches about all the triumphs and important discoveries, but all too little about errors and failures and possible harmful effects. It is not made clear enough which weighings and adjustments are needed.

In discussions about the future we need to construct and test various alternatives. Benefits and costs have to be considered. Then it is important not to see the future as too different from the past as we often do; we seem to think of the past as a necessary chain of events, whereas the future is something open and undecided. We should not think about the future as totally open.

7.

GA: Do you see something now in schools that you think is positive and that should be followed up and reinforced? And what in the school would you like to change in order to make it a better preparation for the future?

JG: I do not know the school concretely enough to be able to answer that very well. But I have a feeling, when my children talk about it, that it is very similar to my own old school; that it is still a school of knowledge, that is fundamentally dull and disciplined.

GA: How would you like it to be, if you could wish freely?

JG: I would like to have much less time in school, about 50 per cent less, and have the children participate in the working life.

GA: How should one then connect school and working-life?

JG: It usually does not work well in a big community. But it works in a small local community. Thus I would prefer a society consisting of small communities. In the rural village where I live in Spain it works very well. The children participate in work all the time, on the farm, in the shop etc. All generations are together. When you enter a shop, then the grandfather or the grandchild comes forward, asking what you want.

GA: You want to reduce the hours of the ordinary school very much. Is it correct to say that you approach the model of Illich?

JG: I do not go as far as Illich. I want to keep both forms at the same time. I have read with great interest Torsten Husén's description of the schools of northern Sweden, some kind of every-second-day school, which demonstrates that if you reduce formal schooling time, this need not result in worse end results.

I have described my general ideas in a book called "Alternative styles of life in rich countries", and I argue there for a situation where school and working life, theory and practice, function in mutual cooperation, and where about half the time is devoted to the school. The school does not aim at a general classification and sorting. When you want to enter a vocation, you are instead tested.

GA: How possible do you think it is that our society will develop the kind of ideal relation between school and community you have been talking about?

JG: I think that economic crises will accentuate the importance of local communities, and that people in general will be more aware of the absurdity of treating children and old people in ghetto schools and homes for the aged of the types we now have. But I do not think that the development will be a simple process. Our present society is built for high productivity with highly effective experts.

GA: How do you yourself look upon the future in this case?
Are you an optimist or an pessimist?

JG: My heart is optimistic, but my brain is pessimistic.
And I cannot isolate these developments from my
thinking about peace problems. I point to ways that
one might go, but at the same time I am aware that
we live in a very difficult, insecure time with many
threatening tendencies. Just because of that it is
the more important that children and young people get
chances for a greater degree of future consciousness.
For me, there is more of a long-range perspective
and challenge in the concept of "consciousness" than
in the concept of "preparedness". We need the chal-
lenge both to look out for signs of developments in
wrong directions and to give greater room for imagi-
nation and creativity, giving people possibilities
of finding alternative ways. But as I have said, I
am not sure that the school is the best instrument.

8.

GA: How do you then look upon the possibilities of making
young people more actively conscious about the future
outside school? How do you awake and direct their
commitment then?

JG: This happens primarily in various forms of political
activity, in participation, in discussions and
activities in the local community.

There are now important developments all over
Europe in this direction. We have the "green move-
ment" which promotes participation and discussion
and - to formulate it as some social scientists would
- that people produce their own self-understanding;
that is, they do not only listen to words that we try
to teach. I have written an article about "alternative
styles of life" where I express a dream about a society
with "discussion cafés". You can go to your "Stamm-
tisch". The attendant asks "What do you wish today?",
and you say "I would like a book by Illich". Then

you get the book with the words, "It is specially interesting on page 43"; and then you discuss it together over a coffee or beer. In such a place people would learn a lot. Another of my dreams is that all booksellers would put old books at everybody's disposition; a free library where you can sit down and discuss together.

GA: Some researchers seem to think that the printed word will not be as important in the future as it is today, that pictures will take over instead. What do you think about that?

JG: I think that people will find their way back to talking together. In that case I am optimistic. Many think that the data screen and the TV picture will be our communication, but that I think will be a short episode. Some people feel that these media are fantastic - you can show a ballet, use it as a dictionary etc.; but in reality, it is just a data screen, and everything looks alike; all differences in expression disappear. I think that people will react against this, as they will do against "junk food", potato chips and quick eating at street kiosks (the "gatukök" is a Swedish criminal offence against humanity). I think the fascination with the new media will last only during a ten-year period. Oral communication is important; conversation as it is called in good, bourgeois families. It almost does not exist today, but I think it will return.

9.

GA: Going back to school again, can we perhaps improve it by introducing some of the things you have emphasized in talking about society in general? Do you perhaps hope that the oral discussion should be more used in school?

JG: Yes, I hope that young people in school should be allowed to talk together much more than we did in the old school - as is done, for instance, in the

experimental high school in Oslo, with which I have had close contact, and in some other alternative schools. My first child went to an anthroposophic school. I think the children did not come out from it with much knowledge; but they learnt to express themselves, to talk, paint, dance, practice various art forms. The experimental high school is more oriented toward politics. The social forces are more stressed than the emotional. Perhaps the two aspects could be combined.

I am not concerned that young people will not acquire knowledge of a technical character. They will acquire that through "learning by doing". Language skills are learnt in a similar way; they will usually learn quite a lot English by doing something in English, for example, practise as tourist guides. In so doing they might learn more in a week than in three years at school. The experience they get in such a way can then be added to theoretically with the aid of the teacher in school teaching.

GA: So you would like to make the school more closely connected to the reality outside school?

JG: Precisely. The school should be open to the society, to all that happens around it. My own experience of the school was that it was grey and boring, as well as a place where I often felt some anxiety, in spite of the fact that I got good grades. I remember very well how some of the teachers sat with a large book in front of them, how they let the finger slide down, pass beyond G for Galtung. But then, suddenly, the hand goes up, and my anxiety jumps up again. The greatest day of my life was the last day of school. I remember that I organized an autodafé of school books, which got so big that the fire-brigade had to be called in. We were very enthusiastic, and since I was the best pupil the school had had for 100 years or something like that, I think that what I did was considered very shocking.

GA: There were many deficiencies in the old school. How different do you think today's school is from the school you experienced?

JG: I think the school has now problems of certain types. Young people let their feelings and desires be more openly expressed than we dared, for instance, in matters of sex, narcotics and material things. I think however, that the upper secondary school is rather like my old school, knowledge-oriented and anxiety-ridden. I take a more positive attitude to what has happened in the basic school.

GA: Are you now thinking of the Norwegian school?

JG: Yes, but also the school in some other countries, for instance, in France.

GA: What kind of positive changes are you thinking about then?

JG: Primarily that one thinks less about marks, less about examinations and knowledge, more about playing, having fun, stimulating social activities. When my oldest son went from the Steiner school to the upper secondary school, it was as if a candle went out. He felt very well at home up to his ninth year in the anthroposophic school. Then he got into the ordinary Norwegian upper secondary school, and he looked tired, dark, gloomy.

GA: What was it that influenced him in such a negative way?

JG: The strong pressures concerning knowledge and that there were so few opportunities to express oneself. My youngest son has now gone through a similar change. He went from the French basic school to the French lycée as early as in the sixth grade. Earlier he was a youngster who ran to school with joy, now it is a forced necessity. The children in school are beaten, if they make a single mistake, such as placing an accent incorrectly. He has acquired such a personal security earlier so he is able to smile at it. But I see that his comrades take it very seriously. The school is some kind of terror organization to them.

It evokes strong anxiety. Hence, I have promised my son that one year in that school will be enough.

GA: How do you think the school can be changed?

JG: Personally, I think the best way is through experimental schools and alternative schools. The central authorities should accept alternative schools and use a mild guidance.

GA: Is there something more that you would like to add to this conversation about schools and the future?

JG: No, I think we have covered a lot of ground. It is good that you in your project talk directly with school children about these things. I would consider them more competent than I am as to the school of today.

Perhaps I might stress that when I look at my own children - I have four - that the longer they get in their schooling from the first year to the twelfth, the worse it gets; the stress, the conformity, the boredom, the anxiety. And then comes the great freedom: to start at the university. I am suddenly struck by the thought: Why cannot the upper secondary school be more like the university and more like the pre-school, some sort of combination of both? The experience of the young people of the upper part of the school to some extent also is dependent on their being at puberty; they get tired of school. That is one reason for cutting down on the number of school hours.

GA: Could you specify what positive things from the pre-school and from the university that you would like to see introduced in the upper secondary school?

JG: The positive aspect of the pre-school is its unstructured, playful and informal character. The positive aspect of the university is the freedom of choice: freedom to choose what you want to study, when and in what way. Some experimental high schools are based on the thought that all these things can be combined. These thoughts I have elaborated upon in my articles on "Schooling or education?" (Chapters 1-12 above.)